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NOVEMBER 10, 1947

New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE AUDIENCE is rustling into its seats for the show. Behind the curtain you can hear the final thump of stage settings being put in place for SGA (Stop-Gap Aid) and ERR (European Recovery Relief). The lively overture of preliminary name-calling has begun. Soon the curtain will go up on the Grand Attraction.

A lot has happened—a whole lot!—since Marshall made his Cambridge speech last June. The 16 nations met in Paris, Russia abstaining and keeping out her satellites. At the UN, Vishinsky made his speeches. Some 200 congressmen visited Europe. And now, here we are, back again in Washington, with spotlights on the Capitol dome, to see what it all comes to.

The prospect of action seems far better than last June. Europe won't get what it asks, but it will get something, probably a lot. Much that is done will probably be done for the wrong reasons. But large-scale European aid seems likely. And the Administration has comprehensive plans for machinery to carry it into effect.

Fixing the blame. One of the first big rows will be over taxes. The President's Council of Economic Advisers says calmly, but emphatically, that taxes shouldn't be cut. Senator Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio) says they should be; Representative Harold Knutson (R, Minn.) is all ready to introduce a tax-cut bill when Congress meets, and he has the support of his precious Business Advisory Group. To this emotional column the proposal to cut taxes, at this juncture, in the face of current inflation and relief needs, seems little short of wicked.

For generations the GOP has claimed to be the party of Sound Money. Generally this has meant being the party of Big Business—which isn't the same thing. Sound Money would have meant retaining

controls on instalment buying, which were thrown off last Saturday. The Federal Reserve Board and Truman begged and pleaded to retain brakes on bounding consumer credit in the face of mounting inflation: the GOP Congress wouldn't hear of it.

Now comes the issue of tax cuts for the well-to-do at a time when there is already too much purchasing power. This column gets a sort of intuitive feeling, through its pores, that the GOP is going too far for its own political good. Recent polls, certain local elections, and even an occasional editorial, indicate the general public is slowly beginning to put the blame for rising living costs on the Republican Party.

Heaven knows Harry Truman has not helped to clarify the issue. But right now the HCL is the biggest issue in America. Putting it all in a formula, blaming the HCL on the GOP would spell "Win" for HT in '48.

Fighting back. The Labor Department has finally succeeded in boiling down into one brief series of statistics the answer to the question, "What's biting labor?" Taft wants the unions to stop asking for more increases in wages. And the drive for the third big wage increase will inevitably come next year. Why? Because the factory worker is taking a beating from increased living costs.

Here's the story. The average factory worker with three dependents has seen weekly purchasing power decline till now it's below what it was in 1942. On September 1 he was earning \$47.61 per week, but in terms of 1939 buying power this was the equivalent of only \$29.58. Here are the yearly comparisons for the American worker's family, all based on 1939 prices: 1939, \$23.62 a week; 1940, \$24.75; 1941, \$27.67; 1942, \$30.96; 1943, \$33.30; 1944, \$34.89; 1945, \$33.08; 1946, \$30.78. Workers,



very naturally, are fighting back in an attempt to improve their situation.

Revelation! Last week *Life* magazine, through novelist Hamilton Basso, charged the development of a Roosevelt "myth," like Lincoln's, and asserted FDR's true evaluation must wait on future historians. This theory makes an easy escape for former

Roosevelt-haters, but it should be noted that some eminent historians evaluated FDR in his own lifetime. In 1937, Professors Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry S. Commager, in their *Growth of the American Republic* (which the *Saturday Review of Literature* hailed at the time as "the best short general history of the US ever published"), shrewdly analyzed

and eulogized FDR's character and gifts—acumen, magnetism, scholarship, liberalism, audacity and courage—"qualities that perhaps no President since Jefferson possessed in equally happy proportions." That was a contemporary account. Even so, it's nice that Basso and *Life*, though late, have found out about the Roosevelt "myth."
Washington T. R. B.

HENRY WALLACE CABLES:

The Conquerors of the Negev

Jerusalem (by wireless)

I HAVE TRAVELED the length and breadth of Palestine, living on its farms, working in its fields and talking to its workers, its businessmen, its political leaders, both Jew and Arab. From the vivid experience of these crowded days I've learned a new and powerful argument for the support of Jewish efforts in Palestine. It is that here in Palestine Jewish pioneers are building a new society.

In day-to-day effort and sacrifice they're learning new lessons and proving new truths for the benefit of all mankind.

It's no accident that this is taking place in Palestine. In two generations, if present trends continue, Palestine may be one of the loveliest garden spots of the world.

How forbidding the physical barriers to human settlement in Palestine appear today! In stifling heat we drove through the valley of the Dead Sea, 1,200 feet below sea level, yet here were men working in the noonday sun and waving to us as we passed. Our car wound up rocky hills miles from water, where only goats nibbled at bare earth, yet here were men clearing away stone. We drove across the hot wasteland of the Negev. Dust raised by our car made the settlements we visited invisible for several minutes after we arrived, yet out of the dust came smiling young men and women to shake our hand and bid us "Shalom."

In once barren sand dunes we bent under the

branches of orange trees laden with fruit. In northern Palestine, where the River Jordan flows into Lake Huleh, we stepped into a small boat and headed into the interior of the great Huleh Swamp. Pelicans, herons and hundreds of other birds rose up before us. We pushed our way through a narrow channel overhung with Egyptian papyrus, and later jumped out upon a black peat bog which shook under our footsteps. Farmers of this region have for centuries been weakened by malaria—carried by mosquitoes bred in this swamp. Today the Jews are planning to drain and settle this entire area.

A people concerned with cash returns alone would choose easier fields of endeavor. There aren't any easy fields in Palestine. But the needs of immigration are desperate. As David Hacohen, of Haifa, general manager of Solel Boneh, the Jewish labor movement's largest building coöperative, told me, "We measure costs not in dollars but in lives saved."

Under these conditions physical pioneering requires social pioneering. This land is beyond the power of the individual to tackle alone, so the Jews of Palestine are conquering it by the power of collective effort. In agriculture, industry and labor there are extremely exciting experiments in collective enterprises.

(Continued on page 10)



DRAWING BY STEFANELLI

**THE WEEK**

It is high time that someone should speak some sobering truths about the First Amendment. The presidential order [on loyalty] is an unconstitutional insult to government employees."

With these courageous words, Dr. Colston E. Warne, an unpaid consultant to the President's Council of Economic Advisers, made known his refusal on principle to fill out the "loyalty" questionnaire being distributed to all government employees.

Warne said that all information about him already was on file—that he is an Amherst professor, president of the Consumers' Union, a Democrat, non-Communist and anti-Fascist. But "this executive order is so completely repugnant to the political institutions of our country that I cannot comply with its terms. . . ."

His stand illumined a strange anomaly of the political scene. The US delegate to the UN Drafting Committee on an International Bill of Rights has proposed as Article 28: "Everyone shall have equal opportunity to engage in public employment in the state of which he is a citizen."

President Truman has been the first head of government to repudiate the principle we are asking the other nations to adopt.

WITH PREJUDICE

"Regrets." Suppose the US Government wants to fire you "with prejudice" from its employ—which in effect means blackballing you for the rest of your life. Do you have the right

of stating your side of the case, or don't you?

You do, argue the lawyers who are representing six officials recently fired summarily for "security reasons" by the State Department. You don't, says Undersecretary of State Robert A. Lovett of that department; you don't even have the right to learn what the charge against you is.

The lawyers, Thurman Arnold, Abe Fortas and Paul A. Porter, have asked for a statement of the charges against their clients (all of whom had affirmed their loyalty to the US under oath) and for a hearing on those charges.

Lovett's reply: "I must refuse this request." And as to the six dismissed persons' resultant difficulty in getting a job anywhere: "Regrets. . . ."

SAME OLD GUARD

"Republocrats." When Senator J. Howard McGrath (R. I.) was named chairman of the Democratic National Committee, progressives hoped he would reject the White House politicians' view that the Democrats can walk in in 1948 by just sitting back and letting the Republicans make the mistakes. But last week's meeting of the National Committee in Washington blasted that hope.

At the committee meeting, the Southern "Republocrats" were thrown a good-sized bone in the plan for re-apportioning delegates to the Democratic National Convention—each state that went Democratic in 1944 to receive a "bonus" of four extra votes next year. And although New Deal Senator McGrath strongly approved the progressive civil-rights program recommended by the President's committee last week, *Chairman* McGrath had no comment on what action the party will take on it.

The most disturbing news from the meeting was that the "bipartisanship" which has hamstrung Democratic foreign policy now is to be tried in domestic policy as well. When Truman heard the committee was ready to reaffirm New Deal objectives and attack the Republican Congress for wrecking price control, he telephoned McGrath to have it withdrawn. The chairman agreed without protest.

If their own National Committee is too "radical" for the President and the chairman, labor may be right in its fears about the kind of program and leadership Truman will give the special session.

SO LITTLE, SO LATE

To "sell." With the special session only 10 days away, the Administration finally began to sell the Marshall Plan to the American public in general and American business in particular.

One hundred business, labor and civic leaders were invited to the White House for a "seminar" on the plan. The meeting was called by White House aide John Steelman without the knowledge of the State or Commerce Departments, which had been handling relations with these groups. In his eagerness to seize the Marshall Plan reins, Steelman thus upset the chances for a well organized educational drive.

The Steelman meeting did get the

Anti-Semitism, 1947

The second of Bruce Bliven's articles on anti-Semitism in the United States will appear in next week's New Republic.

Berlin Gold Rush

A new and feverish activity has brought life into the rubble remains of Berlin buildings, the German daily, *Der Abend*, reports. Using mine-detectors, Berliners are ferreting out buried gold, silver, and metal-trimmed Leicas worth their weight in cigarettes.

advertising industry behind the plan. The Advertising Council, sometimes known as the Hucksters' Conscience Club, is preparing, belatedly, a national campaign to "sell" the Marshall Plan through all their "media."

And very quietly a high command for the public-selling job has been set up. Elder statesman Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War Robert Patterson and former Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson met in New York last week for their first staff conference.

THE TUNSTALL CASE

Discrimination. Tom Tunstall is a Negro fireman employed by the Norfolk (Virginia) Southern Railway Company. Because of a US Supreme Court decision, Tunstall's employers and a Jim Crow firemen's union will have to accord him the seniority privileges to which he is entitled.

It took Tunstall six years of battling in the courts to win the fight for his seniority rights, but it was worth the struggle to him and to other Negroes who are excluded from Southern railroad unions and yet are forced to abide by discriminatory agreements made by those unions with management.

In 1941, Tunstall refused to accept a union-management pact that denied Negro firemen the choice train runs they rated on a seniority basis. He sued in Virginia courts, which decided they had no jurisdiction.

On appeal to the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Harlan Stone ordered the Virginia court to try the case on its merits. The outcome of the retrial was a \$1,000 damage award and an injunction against the union-railroad agreement.

DEFENSE OF HOME

Acquittal. Baltimore (NR correspondent).—Justice came quickly, all things considered, for Carnell Simmons, a Negro charged with fatally shooting a white man who attempted to prevent him, his pregnant wife and other Negroes from escaping from their new home in a white neighborhood after it had been stoned and set afire (the NR, October 27).

Simmons was held in jail 13 days. Then, after hearing 30 minutes of testimony, magistrate Preston A. Pairo dismissed the charge, and remarked:

"I feel that any court, whether it be a magistrate's court or a higher court, must respect the right of a man to defend his home," the magistrate said. "Simmons in exercising this right did only what any other individual would do under similar circumstances."

Baltimore police, charged with the responsibility of apprehending the persons who set the fire, were not so sure. "He should have been held for the grand jury," one policeman said to another after the hearing. "After all, he did kill a white man."

ROYALL'S NEW AIDE

Practical man. Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall would like to be Governor of North Carolina some day, which may explain his choice of a wealthy fellow Carolinian, Gordon Gray, as his new Assistant Secretary.

Gray, the owner of two newspapers and two radio stations, is in an excellent position to give strong support to Royall's gubernatorial ambitions. The 38-year-old publisher is also tailored to

fit current Washington requirements for a loyal citizen, since he is a Red-baiter of high standing.

Gray's record. Last spring, the Gray-controlled papers of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, took sides with the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company (Gray's father was once chairman of the Reynolds board of directors) in an unsuccessful attempt to break a strike of 6,000 employees. The newspapers' technique of attack was (1) to spread the impression that the walkout was largely by Negro workers, that white employees were unsympathetic, and (2) to brand the strike as Communist-inspired. The latter charge touched off a brief and abortive investigation by the Thomas Un-American Activities Committee.

In view of his background, Gray should have little trouble getting his appointment confirmed by Congress.

VETS WIN OUT

Last round. Orangetown, N. Y. (NR correspondent).—The political complexion of things here is red indeed, but Representative J. Parnell Thomas (R, N. J.) need have no fears—the color is strictly in the faces of Rockland County Republican leaders. The GOP's fight to deny the ballot to 1,100 student-vets and their families living in Shanks Village has been voided by a Court of Appeals decision.

Though the verdict deals specifically with the lawsuits of only 467 plaintiffs, it immediately restores voting rights to all other Shanks families, as well as to several hundred students living in nearby housing developments. The outcome of the ruling is the establishment of a powerful bloc of resentful Democratic votes in this traditionally Republican town.

The six judges who sat on the case agreed that the Shanks vets were entitled to register as voters because, even though their residence is temporary pending completion of their education, "these students are family men, not college boys away from their parental homes." The decision nullifies (1) the opinion of state attorney general Nathaniel Goldstein, which the



GOP had used as its basis for refusing to register the ex-GI's, and (2) a lower-court decision restricting the vote to the veterans' wives (the NR, November 3).

ARIZONA VERDICT

Westward Ho. While Governors of 13 states were pushing anti-labor laws through their legislatures earlier this year, Arizona's Democratic chief executive, Sidney P. Osborn, stood fast and vetoed three bills designed to cripple labor unions (the NR, May 26). Last week there was additional proof that Arizona gives the workingman a better break than he gets in most other states.

By a unanimous decision, the state supreme court ruled that strikers in Arizona are entitled to unemployment compensation. The verdict affects the employees of Phoenix's biggest hotel, the Westward Ho, strike-bound for nearly a year. But labor's victory out West was no help to strikers like the 2,600 Bethlehem shipyard workers in Quincy, Massachusetts (the NR, November 3), who are forbidden unemployment benefits by state law.

WHOSE RAINY DAY?

Nest egg. During the first nine months of 1947, American corporations paid out in dividends 35 percent of their record \$17 billion-a-year profit. The other 65 percent went into surplus funds to be held in reserve against the rainy day which so many corporation executives seem firmly to believe is just around the corner. Many say they can't give wage increases or lower prices because they must put away a nest egg for the hard times ahead. (For an exception, see "Expensive Smile," below.)

Consumers, who thought their war-time savings might be useful for the same rainy day, are, of course, providing the wherewithal by paying higher prices.

The October issue of the *Federal Reserve Bulletin* documents the fact in this stately paragraph:

"During the first seven months of 1947 . . . sizable numbers of spending

Chemistry Lesson

Some of Santiago, Chile's, best-dressed señoritas have informed a certain Chilean air-force pilot that there is such a thing as being too gallant. During a recent air show they watched the enthusiastic flier dive near the ground and spell out a salutation with his skywriting equipment. Unfortunately, however, the clouds of sulphur gas drifted down into the ladies' box and disintegrated their nylon stockings, with the result that they all went home barelegged.

units reported net withdrawals from their liquid-asset holdings. . . . The primary purpose for which liquid assets were withdrawn was again to meet general living expenses, particularly in the case of spending units in lower-income groups."

EXPENSIVE SMILE

Amen? Big US Steel has temporarily discontinued its complaints about high wages while declaring an extra dividend for common-stock holders for the first time since the time of the 1929 crash. And board chairman Irving S. Olds has even gone so far as to indicate satisfaction with the current rate of profits, stating that no further rises in steel prices are contemplated "under existing conditions."

Olds's optimism is understandable. US Steel's net income for the first nine months of this year hit \$97,306,461, or 75 percent more than for a similar period last year. And in view of the fact that the added profits came right out of the consumer's pocket, the public has paid a high price for even such a rare sight as a smile on the face of a steel executive.

ANTI-TRUST CASE

Non-competitive. "Ridiculous!" "Fantastic!" answered Wall Streeters last week after Attorney General Tom Clark announced that the federal government had filed suit against 17 of the country's leading investment-banking partnerships and corporations for violating anti-trust laws.

More petulantly, an official of one of the 17 firms under attack was quoted as saying, "If the Attorney General thinks this business is not competitive, we wish he had to earn his living at it."

The government, pointing out that the 17 firms controlled almost 69 percent of the total SEC-registered new-security business between 1938 and April, 1947, seems to think that the fresh, outside air of competition is needed in the stuffy atmosphere of millions and billions.

The government alleged in its complaint that little clubs of bankers were agreeing among themselves whether or not to bid for new security issues. It charged that insurance companies were being kept out of the bidding through gentlemanly agreements to cut them in later.

Underwriting firms, the government points out, are not only giving advice to companies which might or might not need money, but are handling the stock issues once the advice is taken.

How it works. Perhaps, in a hypothetical case, a Wall Street gentleman who advises the board of directors of the ABCD corporation to float a \$10 million issue of common stock, forms a syndicate to underwrite the issue, makes deals with insurance companies and other underwriting firms not to bid for the stock against his syndicate, then turns around and sells the stock at a profit—perhaps he is an upright and honorable example of competition inside the free-enterprise system.

But the Anti-Trust Division, along with Cyrus Eaton, Robert R. Young and millions of other outsiders, thinks the courts ought to decide.

FACTS ON FOOD

The worst yet. The harassed, hard-working representatives of the 35 nations which belong to the International Emergency Food Council left their offices in a converted hotel on fashionable Du Pont Circle last week for their fifth formal meeting in the ornate old State Department Building. They heard their Secretary General, D. A. FitzGerald (a US Depart-

ment of Agriculture career man), describe the world food outlook for the coming winter as "the worst yet." Too much rain last winter and too little this summer and during the autumn have reduced the world food supply to a point below the bare subsistence level of last year.

The IEFC had hoped to dissolve itself into the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, but a motion by Belgium to keep it alive through the coming crucial winter was adopted. It was feared that the shift might entail confusion and delays which would cost the lives of thousands of people.

Not only is there less food for more people, but the worst crop failures came in the worst food-deficit areas—Western Europe and India. And the greatest exportable surpluses are in the United States, which cannot be counted on to allot food on the IEFC's firm basis of need alone.

FitzGerald never mentioned the Marshall Plan by name, but his report described as a "pitfall" any "allocations of specific commodities to further the interests of a small number of countries to the disadvantage of many others."

No Red bogey. In India, for instance, riots in the Punjab wheat belt and the lateness of the monsoon in the south have cut food stocks seriously in a country which is on the verge of mass starvation even in normal years. Indian Ambassador Asaf Ali has made a plea to the US for help, but with no Red bogey to wave, his chances are poor.

US inflation has just about priced India and many other poor countries out of the American food market. Meanwhile, the world population goes right on growing at the rate of 15 to 20 million more a year.

DOROTHY PARKERISM

Quote. On a visit to Washington to attend the Thomas committee hearings, Dorothy Parker quipped: "The Red-baiters are trying to make World War II look like a Communist-front organization."

Why J. Parnell's Show Flopped

by William Walton

SHOWMAN J. Parnell Thomas laid an egg. His carefully staged inquiry into un-American activities in the movies, ballyhooed as a giant exposé, flopped after a nine-day run. Thomas' show just didn't have a plot, even though he showed considerable skill at arranging and lighting sets and hiring actors. In its final day it drifted off into such incoherence that the scarlet-jowled producer closed it hastily. Many actors were not even given a chance to speak their lines. Thomas' adjutants had promised in advance a three or four-week run replete with horrid surprises which might extend the engagement indefinitely.

Act One. During the first week everybody, including newspapermen covering the hearings, played it straight, acting as though Thomas were carrying out a serious, documented investigation into subversive activities. The committee respectfully ushered through a parade of Hollywood glamor boys who spoke bravely of their hatred of communism but admitted it had not yet gained control of Hollywood. Producer Jack Warner put the finger on some writers he accused of communism. Ginger Rogers' mother spoke as a learned, though coquettish, political expert. Everybody listened attentively.

Of course no dissenting voice was heard. No cross-examination was permitted. No accused persons were allowed to confront their smearers. Witnesses bandied the names of various well known writers, directors and producers as Communists. Sensation-hungry newspapers had their headlines. J. Parnell Thomas had his publicity.

But by the second week things began to change. In the first place, Hollywood hit back. A plane-load of stars, including such fabulous faces as those of Lauren Bacall, Humphrey Bogart and Danny Kaye, flew cross-country to protest the committee's scandalous perversion of civil rights. This wasn't in the Thomas script. Encouraged by Hollywood's craven atti-

tude when he held preliminary hearings on the Coast last summer, Thomas had intended to frighten the movie people away from all political activity. Instead they became more militant and drew into their ranks new converts to political action angered by the un-Americanism of Thomas' methods.

Then an alert, articulate witness helped spoil the show by speaking lines the committee had not written. He was Emmett Lavery, president of the Screen Writers' Guild.

The way to halt communism, Lavery told the committee, "is not by legislation or scareheads but a better way of life. . . . This is a time to dramatize the American way of life. It is not enough to make people afraid. That is too easy. They get used to it. This is the time to get them to love the things we hold dear, not use a negative approach. It is better to show how good Mr. Justice Holmes was than how bad Mr. Stalin is."

Doggedly, Thomas and his henchmen went on with other witnesses, hammering unproved Communist charges, voting contempt citations of those who stood on their constitutional rights. But the committee's heart was not in it.

Floppo. Another Thomas calculation had gone wrong. He had hoped to ride the current wave of anti-Red hysteria. Instead, even the conservative press began to write contemptuous editorials about his methods.

The defection of the press was enough. Thomas and his committeemen went into a huddle. Like any producer with an obvious flop on his hands, Thomas closed the show.

In nine days of hearings his committee had:

- ❏ Voted to cite 10 writers and directors for contempt.
- ❏ Trotted out 10 Communist-membership cards of unproved authenticity and dubious value as evidence in a court of law.
- ❏ Cost the taxpayers thousands of dollars.
- ❏ Proved nothing.

THE CASE FOR THE DEFENSE OF "THE 19"

by Bartley C. Crum

A FREE MAN has duties as well as rights. The primary duty of a free man is to prevent the abridgment of freedom, not only his own, but that of others.

That was the position of the 19 "unfriendly" witnesses who went to Washington for the so-called Hollywood hearings. Their primary desire was to protect the motion-picture industry and all the media of communications, including the press and radio, from political intimidation.

I am well aware that we live in a time of stress and strain and that many citizens of the United States wonder why those who were called as "unfriendly" witnesses answered the questions about their political affiliations as they did. To most Americans it is a simple thing to deny that one is a Communist, and to many it might appear that Congress should have the right to ask what one's political association is or has been.

An easy way. Those who insisted that the federal government should have no right to pass laws abridging the right to think what one wants to think (or to say what one wants, or to refrain from saying anything) realized that very frequently in a democracy a minority position is unpopular.

It would have been quite simple for the 19 "unfriendly" witnesses to have answered Chairman Thomas' questions either with a direct "yes" or "no." In my opinion to have done so would have meant a betrayal of the basic constitutional principle involved. As these persons clearly saw, the various House Committees on Un-American Activities have, for nine years, been whittling away the guarantees of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Their position can best be stated by recalling the remarks made by former Governor Herbert A. Lehman of New York, who, when asked to sign bills



York, Pa., Gazette and Daily

ALL AT TAXPAYERS' EXPENSE

outlawing a political party and requiring people to testify on their oath as to their membership or belief, said:

The greatest danger to democracy comes through gradual invasion of the Bill of Rights with the acquiescence of an inert people through their failure to discern that constitutional government cannot survive where the rights guaranteed by the Constitution are not safeguarded to every person, including those with whose political and social views or with whose association the majority may not agree.

It is clear that not one of the 19 artists we represented had transgressed the law morally or technically. Not one had engaged in any action contrary to the obligations of conscience and custom. Each one had demonstrated his complete loyalty to the United States of America.

Yet it was possible to disrupt their lives, to drag them to Washington at great expense and at great cost to their reputations, and to subject them to attempted "rule by accusation" rather than rule by law.

No thinking American would deny that the powers of congressional investigation must be maintained. Still, as United States District Judge Simon H. Rifkind said in New York on October 7, 1947, when he impaneled the New York Grand Jury:

Of late, we have witnessed the intrusion of other agencies, mostly congressional, into the field which historically has been the domain of the grand jury, agencies which likewise undertake to participate in this delicate business of

accusation. These agencies, including congressional committees, have no such tradition as that which sanctifies the work of the grand jury. . . . They are armed with no safeguards against the play of passion and the clamor of the marketplace. They have no rules of evidence. They have no rule of probable cause. Rumor, gossip and suspicion are all admissible ingredients in their deliberations, and no judicial tribunal stands ready at hand to curb excessive zeal, or to protect him who is entitled to protection under our laws. In my private opinion, that is a dangerous tendency. . . .

That which we have witnessed in Washington at the hands of a congressional committee is more than enough to make men weep. Every safeguard known to Anglo-Saxon law was disregarded. The vilest kind of vituperation, abuse, hearsay and bias was permitted to be entered into the records of Congress—and no challenge was permitted. Hearsay testimony, photostatic copies of alleged documents, unidentified, were all permitted to go into the records without challenge.

Who is on trial? It is my conviction, deep and abiding, that the ancient rule of our law is still sound—namely, that a society which fails to punish all the guilty is merely inefficient. Any society can survive inefficiency.

But a society which convicts innocent men without a fair trial, as was attempted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in the recent hearings, practises injustice and tyranny. It brings into disrespect the democratic institutions we purport to cherish and, in doing so, runs the danger of forfeiting any moral claim to the loyalty of its citizens.

As Mr. Justice Douglas recently pointed out, the essence of democracy is that the majority voluntarily places a limit upon its right to compel an unpopular minority to bow to its will.

It is not "the 19" who were on trial. It was the Congress of the United States. It is they who must answer to the American people.

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HENRY WALLACE (Cont'd from page 4)

Almost 20 percent of the Jews in Palestine are engaged in agriculture, with approximately half undertaking problems in communal settlements of extraordinary social and economic significance. Others farm in traditional fashion, though their marketing co-ops are highly developed.

Communal settlements fall into three classifications: the first is the collective, or Kibbutz, which has a communal dining hall with individual rooms for members, nurseries and other special separate facilities for children. The Kibbutz is governed democratically through the town-meeting method. Members receive no wages. The only cash they handle is the annual pocket money each receives for a vacation or for special trips to the city.

The second type is the Moshav Shitufi, a modification of the Kibbutz, which attracts many of the farmers among Palestine's 30,000 Jewish war veterans. Here the work is done collectively on Kibbutz principles, but each member has his own home.

The third type is the Moshav Ovdim, in which the members own individual farm plots but use equipment and do their purchasing coöperatively.

At Afikim, a well established Kibbutz in the once malarial Jordan Valley, I was impressed with the attention given to individual needs. The Kibbutz was proud that it had been able to send its first student to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, paying his tuition and expenses. In these settlements I found the education of children based on agriculture and respect for the dignity of labor, but this emphasis did not mean that broader cultural developments were neglected.

While the teachers appreciate central planning, they insist on the right of adaptation to local conditions. A case in point involved the use of a standard arithmetic book in which one problem dealt with purchases at a grocery store. Kibbutz children of nearly grammar-school age have no knowledge of grocery stores because all their food is purchased and prepared coöperatively. They have no conception of money or the use of money. Even their parents see little cash the year around.

Afikim presented many aspects of communal living and the communal solution of problems. One of the interesting trends was combining agricultural development with light industry. This is common practice, for restrictions on the purchase of new land and seasonal variations in agriculture make the development of other income-producing enterprises practically

essential. A thousand Afikim adults cultivate 500 highly productive, irrigated acres and run a plywood factory which turns out products they claim are superior to American plywoods. Their machinery is modern—mostly purchased in the US and Sweden—but one of their home-built machines cuts labor in one operation by 75 percent over similar time in America.

Last year Afikim sent a member to the US and Europe to study manufacturing methods and to buy equipment. This year they are completing a quarter-million-dollar factory by studying these techniques. I wondered whether private-enterprise farmers or collective settlers contributed more to the development of new agricultural methods, and I asked this question of Ezra Danin, a third-generation Jewish Palestinian and a private farmer.

Danin, who has done excellent work turning sand dunes into citrus groves and has pioneered in fish breeding, said the collectives contributed more. "The individual farmer is possibly afraid to take responsibility for error, while in the Kibbutz decisions for adventures in new directions are taken by the membership, so the responsibility is shared," he said. "As a result, there is likely to be more progress along such lines in the Kibbutzim."

I saw this exemplified in a land-leveler developed by one Afikim member, Abraham Efratz. This is the best machine for leveling land quickly and accurately I have ever seen. It seems to me that the Kibbutz answers the canard hurled against mankind by some monopolist propagandists, that personal profit is the only real motivating force in society. Here was a man motivated only by a conviction, which I found so prevalent in the Kibbutz, that the welfare of all is the supreme goal and provides the only protection for the individual. Interestingly enough, the people of Afikim hadn't even considered patent applications for the leveler or for the plywood machine.

At each Kibbutz I visited I was impressed by the spirit of sacrifice shown by the older settlers as they urged us to do everything possible to see that DP's be released and sent to them. They know additional people mean a reduction in their own standard of living, but their sense of unity, their concern for their fellow man and their long-range view of the necessity for more settlers to develop the land urge them to sacrifice. Yet it is not a somber spirit of sacrifice; it is a spirit of joy, springing from their realization that they are rebuilding their ancient nation. Anyone who has seen a "Hora" danced, as I did at Kfar Giladi, a Kibbutz in northern Galilee, would feel this. Here I saw a group of young refugees linking arms in a folk dance which

risers to a higher and higher pitch of emotion and warmth of communal understanding. There, too, I heard tales of personal history—stories of their difficult adjustment after years in concentration and DP camps. Some are physically marred for life, not to mention the concentration-camp numbers branded on their arms. However, psychological wounds are being healed in the midst of the great family which is a Kibbutz and by the healthful process of work on the land and the simple life.

Many of these children arrive as bitter, hostile, even dangerous, victims of persecution. At Kfar Giladi I saw a group of Greek and Turkish-Jewish youths who had completed two years of study, preparing to start new settlements. They were well adjusted, spirited youngsters, ambitious to build new, productive lives.

The problem of children detained in DP camps is far from a solution, since Jewish immigration into Palestine is limited to 1,500 a month. United States quota barriers and the failure of Congress to pass legislation to open our doors to the saddest victims of Hitlerism must weigh heavily on the consciences of all Americans who see these children. They have good stuff in them—as their work in the Kibbutzim has shown—and they are fine human material of which we should be proud. One lad at Kfar Giladi could not forget a paralyzing memory. In concentration camp he had called endlessly for his father. Finally a guard answered by throwing a small piece of soap to him with the taunt: "Here's your father. This is what we've made of him—something useful." That despite such memories they are becoming well adjusted, productive human beings is testimony to their quality.

The Kibbutzim, which would gladly receive thousands from the remnants of European Jewry, range from prosperous, well developed agricultural settlements to almost grim outposts which will, I am sure, one day flower as others have.

At Nahalal I visited a Moshav Ovdim and found a similar spirit of coöperation, mutual aid and self-respect here in this well planned, beautiful community. A private life is possible which is not afforded by the Kibbutzim. Individual farmers work separate plots of land and live in their own homes. Two major principles of the Kibbutz are adhered to, however. First, the land is owned nationally by the Jewish National Fund; second, it is forbidden to hire labor except to replace a member who is ill or called upon to render public service, because of the belief that it is wrong for one man to profit from the toil of others. The farmer and his family must do all the work on their plot, with the labor of children restricted by a compulsory-education program.



TEL-AVIV, A MODERN CITY THAT SPRANG FROM THE DESERT
DRAWING BY HARRY DIX

But experimentation in Palestine is not limited to agriculture. A symbol of the experiments in labor and industry is the city of Haifa, a magnificent modern port whose population of 150,000 is almost evenly divided between Jews and Arabs. A Jewish mayor has a city council which embraces both peoples. Until recent months the possibility of real coöperation of Arabs and Jews was best seen in this delightful city. The city itself has been developed with scientific direction according to plans prepared by Sir Patrick Abercrombie, a city planner from Liverpool.

I toured Haifa with representatives of the Palestine Economic Corporation, an investment firm with 1,600 American stockholders, which operates through a number of subsidiaries and has invested heavily in Haifa housing developments. Through one of its banking subsidiaries, it has financed several Kibbutzim. Even capitalists in Palestine have a unique approach.

The PEC's philosophy is that of the late Justice Brandeis, who fought bigness and monopoly in the United States and wanted to see the Jews of Palestine avoid those evils. The PEC, seeking the utilization of the many talents of the refugees from Europe, concentrates on the development of small plants.

"We're seeking the development of industry in fields where knowledge is the principal raw material," one of the PEC-ers told me. One such development is an essential-oil plant in Haifa where skilled Jewish workers extract flavors from Palestinian and imported fruits and plants. Similarly, the skills of Jewish refugees have established Palestine as a diamond-cutting center.

Jewish labor in Palestine is organized into a unique labor organization—the Histadrut—with a frankly socialist orientation. One hundred and seventy-five thousand wage and salary workers, both industrial and agricultural, are members of the Histadrut, which is particularly noteworthy because of its operation of some of the major industries of Jewish Palestine through Solel Boneh. This is the largest road-building contrac-

tor in the Middle East and performed valuable services for the Allies during the war. It runs transportation systems in Haifa and Tel-Aviv and intercity bus lines covering most of Palestine. It runs a rubber and tire plant, a glassmaking plant, a cement factory, etc. Members of the Histadrut own Solel Boneh, which is making major contributions to the development of the country.

The Histadrut operates on four principles reflecting its socialist philosophy and the spirit of the Kibbutzim. It believes in the national ownership of the land, self-labor on the farms, mutual aid and development, and purchasing and marketing co-ops.

The development of heavy industry in Palestine is retarded currently by the present political uncertainties and the lack of cheap power here in the heart of the Middle East, where American and British oil companies control more than 75 percent of the known oil reserves of the world outside of the USSR. Jews and Arabs are paying 68 cents an imperial gallon (five quarts) for gasoline.

I checked the costs of petroleum products with Sir Alan Cunningham, British High Commissioner of Palestine, a fine man with an almost impossible job. Even without the temporary tax imposed for repair work by the British after the terrorist bombings of refineries, cost per gallon is higher than in Britain itself.

Oil for power-producing Diesel engines is too expensive, and therefore the development of cheap power through a Jordan Valley Authority is an essential for expansion of the country's economy and improved living standards for Arab and Jew alike.

After spending several days examining the efforts of Jewish pioneers, we decided to visit the Arab city of Jaffa, whose mayor, an exceedingly fine young man, a graduate of the American University at Beirut, gave us our first vital contact with the Arab point of view.

Earlier I had visited with the Mukhtar, or mayor, of an Arab village and found that at the farm level there was not much concern about the Jewish and Arab conflict. It was quite another thing when we talked to the highly educated mayor of Larget, an Arab city in Palestine. It was he who expressed the opinion that Zionists, with their assistance from abroad, had established an economy which the country itself could not sustain if such assistance ceased. This view may have some validity, but the emphasis must be on the development of cheap power and tri-national irrigation projects which increase the potential and make possible an immense rise in the present living standards of the Jews, Palestinian Arabs and Transjordanians.

The greatest single cause of the Arabs' and Jews' not being able to get together has been that the Arabs are so individualistic and so unorganized that no one is able to speak for them. It was with the greatest interest, therefore, that we crossed the Jordan and called on King Abdullah, who for some years has been ruling as king of the newly born state of Transjordan. On the shoulders of this man more than of anyone else in the Middle East rests the responsibility of organizing the Arabs bordering on Palestine to enter the modern world.

I spent two hours with Abdullah and found in him one of the shrewdest intellects of the Middle East. Although he outlined the Arab case in terms completely unacceptable to me, he seemed to agree with my basic thesis that the paramount problem of the Middle East was to raise the standard of living of the Arabs rapidly by developing water and power resources.

The part of Palestine which most fascinated me and most irritated my traveling companions was the wide open spaces of the Negev. My companions considered it a desert. It looked to me like western Nebraska. The windblown soil was somewhat like that of western Iowa and the Palouse country of Idaho. Many people, even among the Jews, are skeptical about the profitable development of this area, but I am convinced that once water is made available, an hour of man-labor in the loessal soil of the northern Negev will produce a greater return in terms of crops and livestock than in most other parts of Palestine.

At present, the Negev is as sparsely settled as a so-called American desert in the time of our grandfathers. We drove along a hundred miles of pipeline that carries water from wells to settlers living under more rugged conditions than in any other place in Palestine. In one settlement I saw a strange phenomenon—a marvelous harvest of carrots, with a splendid young banana plantation only a short distance away. The carrots had been planted immediately after an excellent crop of potatoes. If the Jordan River Valley waters can be made available for this land, there is no reason why the Negev shouldn't support a population of several hundred thousands.

I liked the hearty spirit of the young people from Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, who after a year of preliminary training had come into the Negev to show to all Palestine that nothing is impossible.

The Negev demonstrated to me in an even stronger way than the rest of Palestine the extraordinary manner in which planning from above and individual initiative from below can be fused to promote the general welfare of a people who really mean business. No one can lick the conquerors of the Negev.

H. W.

SOVIET BIRTHDAY PRESENT

*On the thirtieth anniversary of the
USSR, the reconstruction of the country is well
ahead of schedule*

by Alexander Kendrick

MOSCOW (by wireless)

THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY of the Soviet Union, with the first full Soviet generation now a reality and with a victorious even though destructive war behind it, finds the Soviet people imbued with a curious combination of confidence and apprehension.

The confidence arises from Russia's tremendous achievements on the home front, especially during the past 12 months. The apprehension is due to the possibility of war; it is not so much a fear of war itself as a feeling of dread that it should be necessary even to talk about war again as a possibility.

There can be no doubt about the internal accomplishments of 1947. This is the second year of the postwar five-year plan. The first year was to a large extent devoted to reconversion. In the second year production has begun to come back with a bang. After a slow start, and despite some fluctuations from quarter to quarter, Soviet industry is well ahead of its assigned quotas. The most popular birthday gift to the state on November 7, the date of the anniversary, was the announcement by hundreds of Soviet plants that they had fulfilled their year's program in 10 months' time.

The Matrosov movement. To attain the year's norms by November 7 was the Soviet Union's particular goal of 1947. On a broader scale, the old prewar slogan of "overtake and surpass the capitalist countries" is in widespread use again. This year's Matrosov movement has brought Stakhanovism into light industry and into the consumers'-goods factories. Named for Vassily Matrosov, a young worker in the "Paris Commune" shoe factory of Moscow, the movement is based not on individual record-breaking performance, such as is feasible in the

coal mines, but on the raising of levels of group performance.

The figures for basic industrial materials challenge light industry's good record:

☐ Soviet coal mining, aided by continued Stakhanovism and new incentives to the miners in the form of increased social benefits, has already reached the prewar level of 166 million tons a year, in spite of the ruinous damage inflicted on the Donbas mines by the Germans.

☐ Steel production is virtually up to the prewar level of 19 million tons and iron is also nearing the prewar figure.

☐ The new oil fields between the Volga and the Urals—"the second Baku"—and in Central Asia are producing heavily, and the country's total output is also probably back at the prewar level again, despite the near destruction of the Maikop wells.

The postwar plan calls for prewar levels to be reached by next year in many industries, and this target will apparently not only be met handily, but some industries, such as machine tools, are already reported to be producing at their scheduled 1950 rate.

This year has seen the rehabilitation of four major economic units de-

stroyed by the war—the famous Dnieper Dam hydroelectric project, the big Zaporozhe steel works, noted for their thin sheet steel, the Nikopol tubing works (the largest in the Soviet Union) and the giant synthetic-rubber factory at Voronezh. All are in production again, although at present on a limited scale.

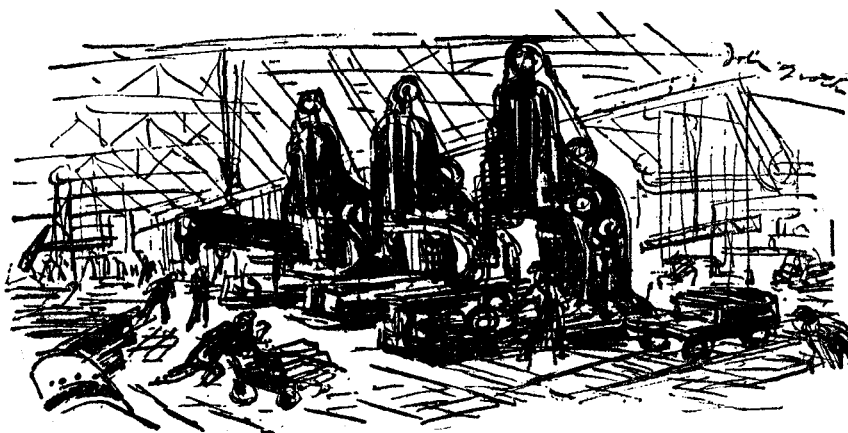
Such grandiose ideas as the world's largest irrigation canal in the Karakum desert of Turkmenia and a thousand-mile-long shelter belt across the Steppes are also being realized.

The harvest has been a bountiful one and memories of last year's calamitous drought and the belt-tightening winter have been erased by the sight of bulging grain warehouses and elevators. This agricultural triumph was planned particularly carefully and the result is that once again Soviet wheat is being exported.

News of this sort, from factories and farms, is the principal content of the Soviet press, contrary to the impression created by Moscow news dispatches that the newspapers print only articles about "American imperialism." The home news is what comes closest to the ordinary Soviet citizen. That is what he is primarily interested in, for that literally is his bread and butter.

Moscow face lifting. Moreover, the gains in industry and agriculture have found swift reflections in everyday life. Moscow has undergone a most impressive transformation in the past 10 months and continues to change daily before one's eyes.

Hundreds of shiny new stores have been put into operation, some by the



DRAWINGS BY JOHN GROTH

government but an increasing number by the coöperatives. The latter include the co-ops of the Ukraine, of Armenia, of Moldavia and other republics, with their own characteristic food products, textiles and notions.

The Mostorg Univermag, the big, central department store which is now turning over goods at an annual rate of three billion rubles, had 112,000 customers one recent Sunday. It sells automobiles among other things and has been fitted out with fluorescent lighting.

While the quantity and variety of goods in Moscow's shops cannot be compared to what you find in New York, they are nevertheless at new Soviet peaks. They include electrical equipment, transparent rain capes in many colors, meat grinders, plastics, aluminum ware, phonographs, bicycles. The Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metals has just announced that the production of aluminum and brass household utensils is several times above the best prewar level, while the fact that Tula, the traditional home of the samovar, is now producing an electric model in itself constitutes a minor industrial revolution.

Neon too. The shop windows now feature neon lights—which became the rage in Western Europe a quarter of a century ago—and are filled with real goods instead of papier-maché. Even specific brands of cigarettes and perfumes are now advertised by illuminated signs in the windows, though the lighted rooftop advertisements are still the basic three—"Protect your money in savings banks," "Protect your property with state insurance" and "Protect your health with vitamins."

This year's additions to the slender amenities of life for the Russians have included fashion shows, a whole crop of sidewalk cafés in the heart of the city, new telephones, the sending of telegrams by telephone, studios where you record your voice on phonograph records, fleets of buses so new that they carry signs instructing passengers how to board them, and so many new automobiles as to make a Times Square out of the intersection of Gorky Street and Mokhovaya.



The latest Zis limousines, which have checkered decorations, are being turned into individual taxicabs, while the colorful street fairs, looking like illustrations from Russian fairy tales, have been run on a practically permanent basis since last New Year's.

Crowds no longer mill around the bread shops. Indeed, one can't get away from the food vendors, who line the sidewalks with their boxes, selling buns made of white flour, sandwiches, pastry, fruit and ice cream. All these items are unrationed and predictions that all rationing may be lifted seem to be well founded. And there has been a continuing drop in all commercial prices throughout the year, though they are still high.

One of the clearest signs of improving conditions is the growing good health seen in people's faces. Practically everybody had a vacation this summer, many in the Crimea or the Caucasus, and they have come back to the city with deep tans. The war weariness is passing away. The children, especially, look well.

Work in progress. Considering the shortages of materials and machinery, the amount of new building going on is enormous. Portable scaffoldings cover a good part of the face of the city and all the main thoroughfares are lined with apartment houses and office buildings under construction. In addition to new units, more living space is being won in the crowded capital by that typically Soviet contribution to architecture: the erection of two or three additional stories atop existing buildings.

Rural rehousing in regions laid waste by the Germans has been brought up to a fast tempo. There are still hundreds of thousands of families

living in dugouts and in mud huts in Byelorussia and the Ukraine, but more than four million persons have been put into a million new homes this year in the countryside. At least six factories have been built in 1947 to manufacture prefabricated housing material, while Boris Iofan and other Soviet architects have done some amazing town planning in connection with the restoration of 16 of the worst damaged cities, including ancient Pskov and Novgorod, Stalin-grad, Sevastopol and Orel.

Some of the new buildings and some of the renovations have been accomplished for the 800th anniversary of Moscow, celebrated in September, and some for the November 7 holiday. But by far the greater amount is just routine construction "according to plan." Increasing electrification and installation of gas outlets from the new Saratov-Moscow pipe line also play a major part in the program of construction and reconstruction of living quarters.

Two little words. Recently, the Moscow City Soviet approved plans to widen eight more principal streets and to build several new bridges across the Moscow River, which winds through the city. Cornerstones have been laid for the new skyscrapers which will be built in the current five-year plan, including one 32-story hotel and apartment building on the Lenin Hills. Even the cornerstones for future monuments to Prince Yuri Dolgoruky, founder of Moscow, and the poet Mayakovsky, have been laid.

A Soviet woman doctor of my acquaintance summed it all up. "This has been a wonderful year," she said, "but it would have been even better if only Roosevelt were alive."

Life in the Soviet Union is better in a material sense than it has been for a long time, and it has become evident that, barring war, nothing can stop the Russians from accomplishing the gigantic tasks they have set for themselves. War, however, has not been barred and the average Soviet citizen knows it; it's the two little words, "barring war," that interlard his confidence with apprehension.

THE U.S. BETS ON A MAN ON HORSEBACK

WHEN CHARLES DE GAULLE arrived in London after the defeat of the French armies in the summer of 1940, he was a relatively obscure career officer of the French army. The few professional military men in the British capital who had heard of him knew him only as a pupil and protégé of Marshal Pétain who had hurt his standing with the old-line brass hats by publishing a book preaching the modern doctrine of mechanized warfare.

But de Gaulle, in one of his first public statements, coined a great phrase: he said France had lost a battle but not the war. And Winston Churchill, himself a master of the use of great phrases, recognized de Gaulle's as brilliant nationalist propaganda. So the British Prime Minister signed an agreement with the Frenchman, making him the head of an improvised "French National Committee" and placing ample funds at his disposal.

Would-be Joan of Arc. A humorless, uncompromising, arrogant man who made a fetish of his nationalism, de Gaulle often bit the British hand that was feeding him. The British—and, later, the Americans too—had interminable difficulties with him, largely because he was almost a megalomaniac in his vanity, and because he insisted on mixing a special, personal brand of mysticism with the simplest practical matters.

When he and his men started their verbal barrage across the English Channel, French hope was at low ebb and French resistance little more than a myth. But with de Gaulle's name as a symbol, that myth became reality in 1942 and 1943. Frenchmen of all classes and political parties rallied to the symbol of the name. Though a scattered minority, the resistance movement became the most democratic national union France had known in generations. And in the next year this active, organized resistance to the enemy became an important contribution to military victory. Even long after everyone could see the wide gulf between

by Percy Winner

the man and the symbol, the myth of de Gaulle remained potent.

Consistently, however, US officials from President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull down to the small fry in the State Department had underestimated de Gaulle's ability, influence and following. The makers of US policy feared the revolutionary possibilities of the French situation; from the start they were more worried about where a French anti-fascism would end than where a French fascism would remain.

They knew de Gaulle was by background, temperament, training and choice not only a rightist but a reactionary, and that the leftists in the French resistance movement were backing de Gaulle the symbol rather than de Gaulle the man. But Roosevelt, in one of his most costly errors, rejected both the symbol and the man, and US policy makers decided to do business with such "safe" reactionaries as Pétain. And de Gaulle's reputation profited thereby; although politically he saw eye to eye with Pétain on everything except collaboration with the Germans, the US stand put him in the position of seeming an enemy of Pétainism in its entirety.

Even after de Gaulle last year made a strategic withdrawal from active

French politics, the State Department would have none of him. But early this year key persons in US foreign policy began to think and act differently, although nothing was said for public consumption.

Making France "safe." Former Ambassador William C. Bullitt made a trip to France and sized up the situation. When he came back, he told Admiral William Leahy, the *éminence grise* of US foreign policy, that de Gaulle was "our man" (just as on his return from France in the summer of 1940 he had said that Pétain was "our man"). Bullitt's report came at the right time for de Gaulle, because a split had developed among top-level US policy makers. As against those, like Ambassador Robert Murphy and the henchmen of Herbert Hoover, who plumped for Germany as the European instrument of "containment" of the Soviet Union, John Foster Dulles and the influential big-money men for whom he speaks, voted for France. The pro-German proponents argued that we could control Germany but that France was not "safe" because of the strength of French forces of progressive leftism. The answering argument was that France could be made "safe."

The result was a compromise: Germany would be used as the advanced bastion of US policy against the Soviet Union, while France would be used as both the base of supply and the rear echelon of America's European positions in the cold war against the Soviets. Two things had to be done to make France "safe," and they were done. First, private assurance was given to French rightists, particularly those of the old Radical Socialist Party, that Washington now looked with favor on de Gaulle. Second, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church—such men as Cardinal Spellman, Monsignor Sheen, Father Gannon—went to work to get Vatican political support shifted from Foreign Minister Bidault's Catholic centrist party, the



Popular Republicans, to de Gaulle's Rally of the French People (RPF).

The results of the recent municipal elections in France suggest that, with support from Washington, Wall Street and the Holy See, de Gaulle has won a battle. There also is every indication that he will win his war—his version of *Mein Kampf*. Does it seem inappropriate to link de Gaulle with Hitler? A more relevant linkage is with the tradition of Bonaparte, Napoleon III, General Boulanger, Mussolini, Franco, Pétain—all men who believed in the leadership principle, in salvation by a "moral elite" and in government by an authoritarian, legitimist political Right professing to be Left.

The Fuehrer speaks. The association of de Gaulle with this tradition is not the work of his enemies. In a pre-election speech in Algiers only a few weeks ago, de Gaulle referred to himself and the men who support him as "the moral elite of the country." He set forth his personal goal as "to save the fatherland once again." And in his book *Le Fil de l'Épée*, published in Paris in 1944, de Gaulle wrote, "The prestige [of the leader] requires mystery because men little revere what they know too well. All cults have tabernacles and no man is great for his servants. Therefore, in the plans, the manner, the movements of the spirit [of the leader] there must be an element which other men cannot capture, which intrigues them, moves them, keeps them breathless. . . . Domination over souls requires that the leader . . . keep for himself some surprise secret that he can spring at any moment. The latent faith of the masses does the rest. . . ."

"All that which the masses, formerly, gave in the form of credit to position or birth, they now give only to those men who know how to dominate. At bottom, men cannot give up being directed any more than they can give up eating, drinking or sleeping. These political animals need organization, that is to say, they need order and leaders."

And this man, says Anne O'Hare McCormick in the *New York Times*, "is a symbol of the revolt we lead."

He is also the leader of the Monarchists, the Bonapartists, the Pétainists and all the enemies of the Republic who are in his camp. One of his main lines of attack is against the French constitution. He wants Parliament dissolved, a referendum called, a new legislative body elected to write a new constitution creating a strong Executive. In France at this time, a referendum is likely to resemble a plebiscite of the type used as a favorite weapon by Napoleon III, Mussolini and Hitler.

In an interview with C. L. Sulzberger last May, de Gaulle made plain his attitude toward the French constitution, saying, "Some events, such as those of 1940, show that a constitution can be changed quickly, even in one afternoon." Since his reference is to Pétain's illegal coup d'état, the General plainly proclaims himself the heir of the Vichy regime.

Everything about de Gaulle suggests he is bidding for the kind of mass support without which a new crypto-fascist authoritarian regime is impossible. Anyone who studies the French record of collaboration with the Nazis is forced to recognize that such mass support may exist. The General's henchmen deny that this support is rightest and reactionary. The record denies their denial. The "inter-group" in the French Assembly supporting de Gaulle's RPF ranges from the Popular Republicans and the Radical Socialists to the reactionary Republican Liberty and other extreme rightist parties.

Mixture as before. Moreover, the General himself, in his interview with Sulzberger, revealed that in addition to his personal ambition of "salvation by glory and grandeur," his economic and social program is essentially that of the fascist "corporative state."

The RPF, which calls itself a "force" and a "rising," strongly resembles the classic formula of Mussolini, Hitler, Franco and their imitators, who always tried to override political parties with the idea of "the movement," "the crusade," etc. The idea that the RPF is spontaneous or unorganized is laughable in view of the plain fact that de Gaulle's meetings have been organ-

ized, with techniques reminiscent of the Nuremberg rallies.

What we have here is a repetition of the fascist type of counter-revolution carried out by a "leader" and a "moral elite" on behalf of the middle class against the progressive leftist revolution of the masses, spearheaded by the workers. As in Italy in 1922, as in Germany in 1932, as in Spain in 1936, communism is merely the excuse and the disguise. In the municipal elections, the Communists pretty well held their ground. De Gaulle's gains were made at the expense of those in the middle between the Communists and the "new Right."

The big squeeze. Perhaps the greatest tragedy which may follow is that the Socialists, caught between the hammer and the anvil, may be smashed. Their present position is too precarious to maintain, and the moderates, who will insist on rejecting both Thorez-Stalin and de Gaulle-Dulles-Marshall as presenting the equal evils of totalitarian communism and reactionary imperialist capitalism, may have to resign themselves to political impotence or exile.

A few days after the municipal elections, the *New York Times* published a leading editorial entitled, "There Is a Tide." The editorial said: "The French emergency is also an American emergency. Our policy is based on the consolidation of the democratic forces of Western Europe as the outer and essential bastion of our own freedom. That policy can succeed or fail in France, and success or failure depends not on what we decide to do tomorrow but what we are ready to do today. . . . The tides are turning; but they will not wait for slow and cautious decision. The big question for France, for Europe and for us is the question of timing. . . . Events in France are moving at a breakneck speed."

What are these fast and bold decisions? It is hard to believe they are anything but steps to put de Gaulle into power. And if the French Left—the democratic, progressive Left as well as the Communist—resist a US-supported effort by de Gaulle to seize

power, what then? Just how hot are we going to make the cold war?

Another question is, whose necks are being broken by the speed of political events in France?

Part of the answer already is plain. The Communist Left remains intact, but the success of de Gaulle means that the political Center in all of the West is doomed. It means that the mild Catholic centrist-leftism which the Vatican found it expedient to use during World War II is to be junked. The political Right which has been biding its time is out in the open, even though it calls itself what it isn't. Whether or not de Gaulle is a "real" fascist, his "Rally" probably will catalyze the European Right after World War II as Mussolini's "Fascio" did after World War I.

The victims. De Gaulle's success also means bad times ahead for that portion of the European Left which thought it could do business with Washington and Wall Street without being sold down the river to the Right. For the time being, the French Socialists are whistling loudly at the edge of the graveyard, but those who recognize the RPF for what it is and also reject the French Communist Party as nothing more than a branch of the Cominform, may have to go into the cemetery and lie down quietly. De Gaulle is the hero of the men in the US who consider the RPF the ideal prescription for purging France and the West of progressive leftism, on the pretense that everything "short of de Gaulle" is Communist.

But what of us and of our own necks?

We are about to be sold a "de Gaulle deal" as we once were sold a "Darlan deal." This time we will be told the basis of the deal is political expediency, as last time we were told it was military expediency. And this time the real basis will be military as last time it was political. An effort will be made to transform the West-East split into a straight Right-Left political alignment, with the US public gulled into believing the fiction that the reaction we will be supporting really is progress.

CAN YOU AFFORD CREDIT?

*Need money? Financing a car? Expensive at best,
here is how to get off cheapest and avoid the charges
of the high-interest shark*

by Harold Wolff

MILLIONS of Americans every year borrow small amounts of money. Pressure from the grocer or a sudden illness in the family means an urgent need for fifty, a hundred or more dollars. They need credit, but where can they get it? And just how much will it cost them to borrow?

Other millions find themselves yearning for a deep-freeze unit or a new washing machine, but don't have the ready cash. One out of four American families pays for things at the rate of a few dollars a week. Although "Ten Easy Payments" and "Buy Now Pay Later" are accepted devices to push up sales of everything from cars and radios to jewelry and fur coats, it turns out to be very expensive. Few consumers realize just how much the privilege of not paying cash costs.

Instalment buying is not the only way to finance purchases. Loans from a small loan company, a Morris Plan bank, or one of the large commercial banks are being made to finance consumer-goods buying, and whether or not they can afford it, Americans are going into debt to buy. Consumer-credit figures reached a low of \$5 billion during the war, when employment, take-home pay and savings were high. Now the total is around \$12 billion, and, according to some experts, may reach \$17 billion next year. The lifting of wartime controls over credit

on November 1 undoubtedly gave the trend an upward boost. High prices and declining savings show up in the amount of instalment buying, which has climbed from a 1943 low of \$814 million to \$2,074 million. Personal loans now total in excess of \$3 billion, more than double the 1943 amount.

For US business, more consumer credit means that the demand for its products will be sustained or increased. "Credit? We love it," says an official of one of Boston's largest stores, who realizes that the high level of credit buying continues to put off the day of declining sales and lower profits. But for the consumer, increased credit buying means not only continued high prices, but that he must pay through the nose for that costly commodity, money. For example, some 1.64 million new car buyers in 1947 will pay for their cars on time. They will borrow \$623.2 million to finance them.

Be a shopper. Much of the cost of financing these cars could be reduced if credit buyers shopped around for loans. In a case brought to light by the St. Louis Better Business Bureau, a man bought a used car for \$306. He paid \$206 down, leaving a balance of \$100. The finance company contract called for eight monthly payments of \$20, or a total of \$160. The arithmetic is complicated, but it adds up to the fact that the buyer paid for credit at the rate of 228 percent a year.

What should he have done? The personal-loan department of the bank in his neighborhood probably is eager for business. The bank might have loaned him the \$100 he needed for six or seven percent a year. He would have paid \$6 or \$7 for the credit for a full year, instead of the \$60 he paid the finance company for just eight months. It isn't that banks are do-gooders who want to lend for lower



THEN—NOT FIT FOR BANKERS

rates, but the law limits the rates that they can charge.

Try a bank first. Commercial banks are relative newcomers to the personal-credit business. For centuries banks took the attitude that the small-loan needs of consumers were not fit fare for bankers. But today the venerable Manufacturers' Trust Company displays radios, television sets and deep-freeze units in its branch lobbies to encourage its depositors to borrow to buy. The aggressive little Franklin Square National Bank in Nassau County, Long Island, has tub-thumped its community to come and borrow from them instead of paying the higher finance or loan-company rates. In its lobby—to whet customer appetites—are Fords, airplanes, washing machines and furniture. While the more sedate banking fraternity watched with slightly open mouths, this small independent bank drummed up more than \$6 million in small consumer loans last year at a handsome profit.

For the most part, banks lend at lower rates than any other agency. However, many borrowers cannot qualify for loans from banks, whose low rates depend on their selecting



NOW—TUB-THUMPING FOR LOANS

only the best credit risks. Banks also cut costs by supplying a minimum of service. For example, the bank expects the borrower to bring in his credentials, whereas the personal-loan company will send out an investigator to look up the customer's references. Actually, loan-company officials think that the banks have been fooled by the war-boom years into thinking that they can make money at present low rates. They predict that the banks will come

a cropper if conditions get bad and some of their erstwhile good risks run into hard times. They complain, too, that banks often operate personal-loan departments at a loss to attract customers. But there's no reason why that should worry you. Unless and until the banks learn better, they are your best bet for cheap credit.

Second-best bets. If you don't rate a bank loan, your next best choice is to see if you qualify for one of the 9,000 credit unions which lend to members at 12 percent a year or less. Among the largest are the Armour Company Employees, the New York Municipal Employees and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Credit Union.

Commercial-loan companies, which make a great issue of the cozy privacy of their lending, always like to point out that if you borrow from a credit union and are slow in paying back, the fellow working next to you will know about it. If you think you could stand that embarrassment, or if you are likely to meet your payments on time, look into the credit-union situation.

Next on your shopping list should be the industrial banks, more familiarly known as the Morris Plan. These originated in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1910, when Arthur J. Morris, a local attorney, together with a group of associates, set up the Morris Plan Bank of Virginia to lend small sums of money to people with regular incomes but without the kind of security that commercial banks required. The rates at Morris Plan banks is six or seven percent discounted, which comes to from 12 to 14 percent on the unpaid balance, plus a small additional fee. It's no bargain, but is still much better than what most people do, which is to buy on the instalment plan or borrow from a personal-loan company.

Caveat emptor. Anyone who borrows from a personal-loan company imposes on himself the old warning—let the buyer beware. The federal government recently indicted 13 loan-company chains doing business in 23 states, charging them with conspiring to maintain rates up to 1,000 percent



a year. The conspiracy charge may never be proved, but it is a fact that thousands of borrowers throughout the country are paying unconscionably high rates. The St. Louis Better Business Bureau recently warned against illegal companies that are advertising "\$5 to \$50 in five minutes" and charging a minimum of 240 percent per year. In Dallas, the Anti-Usury Committee of the Bar Association reports the case of C—T—, a Negro hotel employee and a family man, who borrowed \$20 from a loan company, paid interest charges totaling \$225 and was still being hounded for a balance of \$25.

In Massachusetts a campaign was conducted by assistant attorney general and later state senator Maurice Goldman. In his book, *You Pay and You Pay*, summarizing his fight against the loan companies, Goldman says: "A licensed small-loan company merely takes legally what the loan shark takes illegally. Its small-loan license confers on it an official stamp of respectability." He cites the case of Walter X, who got involved with a small-loan company, subsequently lost his job and failed to meet his weekly payments.

According to Goldman, the firm's collector suggested that Walter pawn his radio and give him the \$1.50. Two weeks later, reports Goldman, "the collector cast his eye around Walter's home and found another object to pawn. . . . Finally there came the day when every article or trinket that could possibly be pawned had been removed and there were still payments to be made. . . . Walter thought that he had finally thrown the collector for a loss. He smiled and said happily, 'Well,

there ain't nothing else you can take.' That smile was a mistake, for it gave the collector an idea. 'Your teeth,' he exclaimed suddenly, 'you can pawn them!'

In Missouri a fight between the bank and small-loan companies in 1943 ended up in charges of attempted corruption of the state legislature. Public sentiment was roused by a campaign in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* with the result that a state constitutional amendment was passed limiting banks and small-loan companies to an eight-percent interest rate. While both banks and small-loan companies continue to do business in Missouri, they claim that they are unable to lend small sums profitably at that rate.

For the defense. Legal loan companies counter attacks against them with the allegation that they are a public service performing a necessary social function. In their own defense, they cite their high costs. Loan-company records show that it takes from \$10 to \$15 worth of advertising and publicity to bring each customer into the office. Another item of cost—the high salaries of loan-company presi-



HE MAY CLAIM YOUR FILLINGS

dents—is explained by one company as due to the fact that loan companies are always under attack, so their president has to be paid a high salary.

The loan companies point to hundreds of testimonials from satisfied customers. Perhaps the prize plum in the collection is the case of a Warren, Ohio, man who willed the manager of the local loan office 10 cans of beans, 10 cans of tomatoes, five cans of peaches, 10 bottles of tomato catsup, one bin of potatoes and five cans of

beets as a mark of his appreciation for what the loan company had done for him.

General advice. When buying on the instalment plan, remember that in all but a few states the only restraining influence on the policies of the seller is—the profit motive. And no law has ever been devised that can prevent a dealer from selling shoddy merchandise and hiking the price above what it would be for a cash sale. A prewar survey of the instalment furniture business showed mark-ups of as high as 400 percent. Credit jewelry stores are also notorious for high markups on below-par merchandise.

Added to these prices are fees that often are beyond belief. In Massachusetts an investigation revealed that piano-company rates were as high as 881 percent, with almost half of the ultra-respectable dealers charging more than 30 percent. Yet they all advertised "six percent on the unpaid balance." So common are these practices that the Association of Better Business Bureaus, at its annual convention in June, decided to make one of its major campaigns of the year an intensified fight against excessive finance charges.

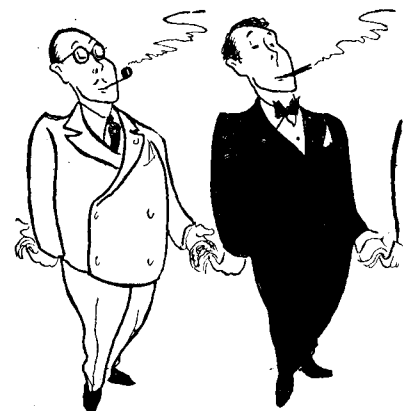
One reason why so many people who should know better continue to be victimized by the instalment companies is the prevalent feeling that "legitimate companies" don't engage in such practices. This is a comforting thought but, unfortunately, not true. Even the big and highly respectable companies are involved. It is standard practice for the dealer to get part of his profit from a "kickback" on the finance fees. So, even the most reputable companies are compelled to pad their charges in order to "take care" of the dealers.

Excessive charges are only the beginning of what the instalment customer brings on himself. If, by any chance, he doesn't meet the payments on time, he may find that the innocent-looking contract he signed contains secret weapons. Instalment contracts often include assignment of wages which enable the company to extract the instalment payment from the cus-

tomers' pay envelope. In some cases the purchaser discovers that an apparently harmless document which he signed at the time of the sale is a "confession of judgment." Regardless of any sharp practices of which the seller may have been guilty, this binds the buyer not only to pay the amount due, but to reimburse the company for legal expenses involved.

Only two states, New York and Maryland, have made any attempt to restrict the misrepresentations, deceptions and high-pressure tactics of instalment sellers. The Maryland statute is a model law well worth the consideration of other states. Among other provisions, it stipulates that the cash price and the amount of the finance charge must be clearly set out, as well as a summary of the buyer's rights under the contract.

Shop around. At this time, the wholesale expansion of instalment credit and loans is an unfortunate contribution to inflation. If you must buy, buy for cash wherever possible. If you are forced to borrow or buy on time, shop around. It may be cheaper to borrow the money from the bank and pay cash than it would be to have the car dealer finance your purchase. And when you are comparing costs, don't let anyone fool you with tricky ways of expressing the cost of a loan. Insist on being told exactly how much it will cost you in dollars and cents to borrow the needed amount for a stated period of time and what that amounts to in *simple interest*. If you have to use credit, drive the best bargain you can. But remember, at very best, credit is costly.



"TAKING CARE" OF THE DEALER

ASLEEP AT THE RINGSIDE

*At Atlantic City, United Auto Workers leaders
fight for power; back home, rank-and-filers yawn at
vital union questions*

by Charles G. Givens

REDHEADED WALTER P. REUTHER goes to the annual convention of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (CIO), which opens in Atlantic City November 9, as top dog. In his short, stubby, nervous, highly competent hands he holds the fate of his great union and his personal political future.

If he emerges from the convention with his union intact and any sort of working agreement with his bitter opposition—and with his personal liberalism untainted—he will be acclaimed a great labor leader and national politicians will be forced to begin dealing him high cards.

If, on the other hand, he stubs his toe (and Atlantic City will be littered with toe-stubbing booby traps, cleverly planted by Reuther's as well as by the union's enemies), Reuther may find himself the head of a union split wide open and lacking plan, unity or even guts. For the Atlantic City convention is the showdown for Walter Reuther and for the UAW, the clumsy, lumbering, politically impotent giant which has been rocked to its heels by hammer blows of the new state anti-labor laws, the bitterly resented Taft-Hartley Act and a violent, no-holds-barred, internal struggle.

For 17 months (since Reuther defeated R. J. Thomas as president of the union), UAW leaders have been fighting among themselves like caterwauling cats on a tin roof. But this is nothing new. These same leaders—all old union hands, all militant union men—have been figuratively bashing one another's brains out over a series of

issues ever since the union grew adult teeth during the famous sitdown strikes of 1936-37. But when the chips were down these pioneer bully boys have always been able to present an impenetrable phalanx to union enemies.

During recent weeks, gradually building in fury for the convention, the top UAW unionists have torn up the rulebooks and hacked at one another with dull hatchets and jagged tin cans. One faction is headed by president Reuther. The other is supposedly led by Thomas.

Actually, the leader of the left-wing faction is George F. Addes, popular and highly competent perennial secretary-treasurer of the UAW. His first aide is Richard T. Leonard, international vice-president and co-director of the great Ford units. Thomas, now a UAW vice-president, is still a vehement anti-Reutherite and is slated to oppose Reuther for president at Atlantic City.

Violent dirty linen. The auto industry and politicians who hate unionism have watched happily and hopefully while the UAW churned internally. Much of the press has headlined the dirty linen exposed during the election campaign. The charges on both sides have been wild and violent. Reuther has covered practically his entire opposition with the blanket charge of communism. He used the *United Auto Worker*, the union's official sheet, to smear Addes and others, charging that \$500,000 was "squandered" in an abortive effort to organize Thompson Products, Inc., of Cleveland. The drastic charges, of course, brought front-page banners and editorials in anti-union newspapers, but these same papers paid little or no attention to Addes' denials and Reuther's admission that he wasn't sure of his facts.

Reuther has an advanced program of really dynamic unionism, but it is a bit complex for an admittedly lethargic rank-and-file membership and makes dull campaign literature, so he has been happy to ride along with the Communist hysteria sweeping the country. He refuses to name any top-ranking UAW unionist as a Communist, but insists his opponents follow the party line. Actually he has not always been a Red-baiter; in the late thirties he was scoring industry for raising the Red scare.

His differences with the leftists go back to the beginning of the war. He would not go for the no-strike pledge nor serve on the UAW-CIO committee after the pledge was made (the UAW did not authorize a single strike during the war years). He fought bitterly against the incentive-pay plan urged by the rival faction. These devices, he insisted, were Red-inspired to further the Russian war effort.

Help from Chicago. Whatever the truth or inaccuracy of Reuther's charges, there are certainly Communists inside the UAW—thousands of them and some in high places. The Communists vote anti-Reuther. Inside the rank and file they are a tiny minority. But they are an extremely active minority, working a 24-hour, seven-day shift. They back the Addes-Leonard-Thomas faction solidly because of Reuther's violent anti-Communist stand and not because Addes and Leonard and Thomas are "Red."

The UAW leftists watched Reuther's rise with apprehension and distrust. Their antagonism first reached a vocal high during the long General Motors strike, when they openly accused him of attempting to sell out to the American Federation of Labor and the National Association of Manufacturers. They attacked him for accepting a strike-fund gift of \$86,000 from David Dubinsky and his garment workers.

In the current election campaign, the anti-Reutherites have charged that Reuther is a would-be dictator and has been "bundling" with the auto industry, especially General Motors. Reu-

Charles G. Givens is a veteran Detroit newspaperman who took time out from reporting to write seven novels, including the forthcoming *Dust in My One Good Eye*. He worked at Ford and Chrysler plants during the war, and has contributed to the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Liberty* and the old *Mercury*.

ther's own union. They employed Harry Barnard, a high-powered Chicago public-relations man, to blast Reuther. Among the thousands of letters and leaflets and pamphlets gotten out by Barnard's staff and showered like hot rain on the UAW rank and file, is a major effort titled "The Bosses' Boy—a Documentary Record of Walter Reuther." This booklet purports to prove that reactionary forces love Reuther and, through him, expect to split and then wreck the union.

Reuther's enemies also charge him with advocating the speedup. They gleefully hopped on the ridiculous Drew Pearson "prediction" that Republican leaders were planning a Taft-Reuther all-unity presidential ticket, and plastered the country with leaflets titled "Is It So Illogical?" which again cited Reuther's alleged union defections.

Old-fashioned leftists. The factional fight inside the UAW that has led to these extremes of name calling is a political and not an ideological struggle. Its front is Communism versus Democracy. Actually, it is simply a power fight among young, militant unionists grown up into ambitious career men.

On the one hand are Reuther and a messianic following offering new, radical and somewhat complex union policies and goals. On the other hand are Addes, Leonard and Thomas and their followers who "grew up" with Reuther, resent his steady rise and his gift for color and publicity and are not content to sit quietly by and become his stooges while he climbs the heights in union, and later, they are convinced, national politics. Actually, this so-called "left-wing" represents old-fashioned straight unionism—bigger wages, better working conditions and shorter hours, along with such latter-day demands as pensions and vacations.

Who are these intransigent leaders of one of the largest unions in the United States—a union with a paid membership of 810,000, with an over-all membership of 920,000, with 921 locals scattered over the whole country?

With the exception of Thomas, who studied for the ministry, the ranking heads of the UAW came from labor families. Thomas was with Bell Telephone for many years before he drifted into the auto industry. He is a stocky, paunchy, hard-knuckled fighting man with a talent for violent, husky oratory—a disciple of the John Lewis school of unionism. He has a definite political flair and has a mass appeal to unionists. He can say what he thinks loudly and violently and loves any kind of fight. He is out of Youngstown, Ohio, and eastern Ohio is one of his strongholds now.

George F. Addes was a Toledo tool-maker with a skilled-trades background. He is quiet, soft-spoken, with a knack for making and keeping friends. He is admittedly one of the finest administrators in unionism. He has been in the thick of every fight since the sitdowns, but in inter-union affairs he has garnered headlines for somebody else or somebody else's cause. For the past several years he has been Thomas' voice and in great part Thomas' brain. He has always been a left-wing, hew-to-the-accepted-line unionist.

Young Dick Leonard was born in the Hocking coal fields in eastern Ohio; his father was a charter member of the home-town local. He is quiet, smooth, fairly well educated, a hard man to face across a bargaining table. He is the author of the Ford Pension Plan, the first offered in heavy industry, which was overwhelmingly defeated by a rank-and-file vote.

Walter Reuther, kingpin of the UAW, is a rabble-rouser endowed with the magnetism that brings fanatical masses luzzahing around him. He is a leader completely certain of his destiny. A young 40, genial, smiling and cherubic, he is equally friendly and at home

with top industry brass, politicians or men in greasy overalls. Reuther is tough, hard as nails, utterly ruthless and unsentimental. He is going places and knows it very well. He is a good, even a rabid, unionist at heart, hates the very guts of industry as it operates today, and would like to take his union—or unions?—along with him to visit high places.

Reuther's immediate goal is to clean out or render impotent his enemies inside the UAW and to put over his labor program, which he calls Economic Democracy. In addition to the usual union demands, he insists that the industry be made to "show its books" and divide its profits three ways—among management, consumer and labor. In front of UAW headquarters in Detroit is a huge sign which informs the public that the auto industry could reduce the price of cars \$150 and still make a profit of eight percent. Reuther now says industry could reduce the price \$250 per car and still make the profit.

B-29 or Model T? Reuther has a head full of ideas, all of them opposed by the left wing and by management. In addition to the three-way split in car profits, he demands an annual wage for auto workers but does not



SOUTHERN POVERTY AND PREJUDICE BLOCKED NORTHERN UNIONISM

want a government guarantee. He believes that we now have a B-29 production system and a Model T distribution system.

Reuther is a planner, a schemer, a clever union politician who trusts few men and keeps his own counsel. He has his eye on the presidency of the CIO. After that, who knows? It is rumored in high labor circles that Reuther is quietly but determinedly disliked by Philip Murray. But they are now working together.

Sleeping giant. The scrabbling for power by Reuther and his enemies is watched without particular interest by the union men they want to control. The bitter truth is that the UAW is a sleeping giant. Its membership grew from 9,000 in early 1936 to 1.25 million in 1945. Most of its present 920,000 members have never known real union strife. They take UAW benefits for granted, much as city dwellers expect paved streets, sewage and a fire department. The vast majority of auto workers (when they are not disgusted with the factional fights) are not interested one way or another. They don't vote.

As an illustration of this, when a vote was taken on whether or not to strike General Motors, certainly a vital matter to every one of the more than 175,000 workers, only 30 percent voted. When the strike was called, the union went out solidly. There was little or no dissension in the ranks during the 113-day siege.

As a unit, the UAW so far has been pretty impotent politically, except in presidential-election years. Today, prodded by Republican anti-labor measures, there is a stirring inside the UAW which may upset political calculations, inside the union and out.

A Southern slattern. Whether the UAW awakens to its present peril or dozes on, its development has been one of the miracles of this century. Automobile-industry management, generally, was scornful of unions right up to the sitdowns. It had always had the situation well in hand, relying chiefly on worker dissension and an abundant supply of labor, using acquiescent

courts when convenient, resorting to brute force when necessary.

One of the reasons for management arrogance was that a high percentage of auto workers were from the South. Early in the century disaffection set in among tens of thousands of poor whites and Negroes in the shabbier sections of the tattered South. Many of these were young, bright, ambitious men—the middle layer in a once sweet, fertile region which had become an economic slattern. The South as they knew it was an agricultural section gone to hell and not yet dreaming of industrialization.

A trickle of Southern labor had started north about 1910, but the mass exodus began in 1914, when Ford announced his \$5-a-day wage scale. During the booming twenties it reached its peak. Whole families, patches of entire towns and communities, picked up, bag and baggage, and headed for Ohio and Michigan, especially Detroit, Flint and Pontiac.

Big-business welcome. The great automobile companies welcomed the migrants as a new supply of cheap, anxious labor—white men seeking opportunity and Negroes hunting work and a freedom that had never come with Emancipation. Most of the Southerners were unskilled, but they were competitive.

Without leadership or industrial experience, the Southerners were thrown together practically rump to rump with other great racial groups—Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile. All the hates and prejudices and abominations that have sprung up to plague the country had—and have—natural cells within the great auto centers. They have been fed and encouraged by hate groups and were for many years a natural setup for anti-union management and a solid, impenetrable block to unionism.

Although the industry had become firmly established several years before, no attempt was made to organize its workers until 1913, when the Carriage and Wagon Workers (AFL) moved in. The movement got nowhere because of opposition from the old AFL craft unions. The AFL dozed until

1925, when it halfheartedly tried to sell auto management the idea that responsible AFL unions would make for efficient production. The auto men weren't interested and the AFL snoozed again for almost another decade.

Then the depression struck.

The jobs of 193,000 auto workers folded. The work week was cut to meet an almost non-existent market. Wages were chopped to an average of \$20.10 a week—for those who worked.

(Incidentally, newspapers and magazines have continued to insist that Ford paid 60 cents an hour all during the depression. He did not; his standard wage in 1932-33 was 50 cents an hour. Ford also received good publicity by announcing at intervals that the Ford Motor Company was rehiring workers. The company was not lying: it would hire a few hundred young workers and hand quit slips to a few hundred old employees—on the same day.)

By 1932-33 auto workers were clamoring for unions—but fearfully, because the industry was fully aware of the unrest (in those days, a man who dared to wear a union button invited an almost automatic discharge). It was then that the small group of bitterly militant and very tough young organizers, among them the present embattled heads of the UAW, moved in.

Strings to the aid. In 1933, Dick Leonard directed the first major successful strike in the industry, at Hupp. R. J. Thomas organized two Chrysler plants and joined with Leonard to form the Independent Automobile Workers of America. Leonard and Thomas had little strength and no money and asked the AFL for help. They got it, but with strings attached.

The AFL insisted that each auto plant be organized into a single Federal local. The Federals had no autonomy and could not bargain, strike or even draw up contracts for themselves. Practically their only privilege was to pay a per-capita tax of 35 cents a month to the AFL. The industry realized the weakness of the Federals and fired indiscriminately, refused to bargain and cut wages.

In June, 1934, 157 representatives



DRAWINGS BY BERNARD PERLIN

THE BATTLE OF THE RUNNING BULLS DURING THE 1937 FISHER BODY SITDOWN

of 77 Federal locals met in Detroit and kicked all AFL organizers out of the convention. The next year, after the AFL had declared the first great Chevrolet strike to be unauthorized, the Federals banded themselves together into the United Automobile Workers of America.

The new UAW appealed for aid, money and direction to the almost equally new Committee for Industrial Organization, later to become the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It received all three. In 1937, the UAW was expelled from the AFL in one of the most meaningless gestures in American labor history. By the time of its expulsion, the UAW had joined the CIO and had won the great sit-down strikes of 1936-37.

Bendix was first. What were the sitdowns? Why were they called? During 1936-37 there were 525 authorized sitdowns, the workers staying in their plants one or more days. Despite the claims of the startled conservative press, which slanted the news so violently that the general public got an over-all picture of gangs of anarchists raging inside plants with torch and hammer, the authorized strikes were orderly and caused practically no damage.

In the big sitdowns, wages did not figure in union demands, although high pay in industry has been exaggerated. In 1907, the average weekly

wage was \$11.50; in 1917, \$15.40; in 1924, \$30.30; and in 1928 (the high until the war years), auto workers averaged \$33 for a 44-hour week. During the depression wages nosedived to an average of 55 cents an hour—when work was available. Those are Automobile Manufacturers' Association figures.

The union sat down for honest recognition, seniority rights and elimination of the man-killing speedup.

The big strikes began in June, 1936, when Bendix workers in South Bend, Indiana, won a wage increase, seniority rights and union recognition. That October, R. J. Thomas led a Dodge strike in Detroit, winning seniority rights and reinstatement of fired union leaders. Meanwhile Wyndham Mortimer had been quietly organizing General Motors and its feeders in Flint.

Mortimer's was a tough and dangerous job. General Motors, the first major target of the UAW, was one of the most arrogant of the big corporations. Its plants were crawling with paid spies. Flint's police force was a GM arm. Small union meetings were held in basements by candlelight; secret passwords were given. During the organizing campaign burly, good-natured Pinkertons made a door-to-door canvass of union wives and warned them of what would happen if their husbands joined the union.

Despite the company pressure, Dick Frankenstein cracked Midland Steel

Products, a General Motors vendor, in November, 1936, with the first of the sitdowns. Walter Reuther led a successful sitdown at Kelsey-Hayes Wheel.

With the flow of steel and wheels dammed up, the UAW sat down at the Fisher Body Company to stop the flow of General Motors bodies. In early January, 1937, it sat down in the small Chevrolet Nine and Six Shops in order to lure the hundreds of armed company guards and Pinkertons away from the great Chevrolet Four. The strategy succeeded, the guards flocked to Chevrolet Nine and Six and sit-downers had time to lock themselves inside Chevrolet Four.

Birth of the UAW. There was loud press clamor for troops to eject the sitdowners, and Governor Frank Murphy (now United States Supreme Court Justice) called them out, but only to protect property. Strangely enough, few unionists give him full credit for withstanding the pressure and refusing to send troops in after the sit-downers.

Police and vigilantes stormed one of the Fisher plants in Flint but were repulsed by the sitdowners with water hoses and a barrage of tools. The fracas is known in union circles as the Battle of the Running Bulls.

The sitdowns ended on February 11, 1937. Most of the original sitdowners had stayed inside the plants five weeks, a well organized and perfectly dis-

ciplined army. Union men tell with relish how GM capitulated. One of the corporation's top brass came to John L. Lewis' room in the Statler Hotel in Detroit. "Do you want your plants opened?" asked Old John, propped up in bed. "Of course," said the brass. "Then sign here," said John. The UAW-CIO was really born in that room.

Ford was late. The over-all strategy of the union has been to play the Big Three against one another. The UAW struck Chrysler as soon as it had won at General Motors. Chrysler tried to break the strike with imported Negro labor, but failed when the better Negro element in Detroit came to the aid of the union. By September, 1937, the UAW had contracts with 400 companies, including all the majors except Ford.

At Ford, protected by Harry Bennett's tough and efficient Service Department, a 1937 strike died aborning. However, when Ford finally succumbed, in 1941, he signed the best contract in the industry, including the first dues check-off. Bennett's guards were put into uniforms and taught good manners.

(When Henry Ford died, his body lay in state in the Recreation Building at his Greenfield Village. The floor above—a slick dance floor where Ford had tried to sell the world old-time music and dancing—was turned over to reporters as a press room. Ford Servicemen politely served them sandwiches, coffee and drinks. "Christ, what a change!" one remarked. "Only a few months ago, if a reporter had tried to enter these grounds, six of those bastards would have been chasing him.")

It was with the signing of the Ford contract and the entrance of the US into World War II that the membership of the UAW went to sleep. The men did their war jobs and did them well. But the militance of their unionism—protected by contracts and unchallenged by an industry that was waxing richer than dreams on war profits—atrophied into the indifference of success.

Today the UAW is in deadly dan-

ger, and the membership, although still nodding, is beginning to move restlessly in its sleep. Threatening the very existence of the UAW are:

❏ The vicious Taft-Hartley Act;

❏ The four Michigan state laws designed to nibble away at union vitals, one of which has already been invoked to break UAW unions in Owosso, Clinton and Dowagiac, to name just three places;

❏ The resurgence of company-inspired unions demanding elections under the new laws;

❏ Head-bashing, such as that which has already spilt blood at the current garage mechanics' strike in Detroit;

❏ Representative Clare Hoffman (R, Mich.)—labor, Jew and Red-baiter and ex-America First—who has visited "troubled" towns to rail at unionists and demand that the state police use guns and clubs on strikers;

❏ Michigan's Republican Governor Kim Sigler, a bitter foe of unionism, who has an almost solid Republican anti-labor legislature back of him.

It is against a background such as this, intensified by the ugly factionalism of their union, that Walter Reuther and the other UAW leaders travel to Atlantic City. The Taft-Hartley Act is, of course, the most potent of the outside pressures pounding against them. So far, on this issue at least, motor makers have found little comfort in the internal struggles of the UAW.

The right wing of the union has effectively stymied vital parts of the Taft-Hartley Act at Murray Body Corporation, one of the great feeder plants, and at other, smaller feeders; the left wing has postponed a showdown at Ford for a year. The guiding heads of both factions are attacking the law, bitterly resented by active and thinking portions of the rank and file, with a heavy hammer—the weight of the whole union.

As the convention opens, there is a violent argument going on inside the Reuther camp. Reuther's so-called "strategy board"—consisting of Victor Reuther, Frank Winn and Don Montgomery—insist that now is the time to

wipe the slate clean of his leftist enemies. They contend that they have the votes to kill off Thomas and Leonard and have an even chance of beating Addes.

President Reuther is inclined to take the cautious, long view, however. Although Reutherite Emil Mazey is an avowed candidate to oppose Addes for the secretary-treasurership, Reuther knows the popularity and strength of Addes and realizes the disunity and unrest that would ensue even if a purge succeeded. Most labor experts are certain that there will be no open split in the union at Atlantic City.

Walter Reuther will be reelected president. He will probably gain control of the 22-man executive board. If he is stymied again (on vital issues he was on the short end of a 15-7 executive-board vote during the past 17 months), some sort of compromise will be sought.

Left or Right? Not only management but the entire labor movement is watching the UAW convention, hopefully and a bit apprehensively. If the great union goes solidly Right, labor leaders predict that soon, perhaps not immediately, the CIO will pressure its internationals to fall in line—or else. If Reuther decides to compromise with his enemies, labor leftists everywhere will be encouraged.

But neither result will be so important as its effect on the dozing UAW. For unless the giant is awakened—and soon—neither Walter Reuther, George Addes, communism, democracy nor compromise can save UAW members from a return to the bondage they escaped when they grew to union maturity in the late thirties.



BOOKS IN REVIEW

BROOKS AND THE "USABLE PAST"

by Malcolm Cowley

IN his new book, the fourth to be published in his present series, Van Wyck Brooks describes the literary life of all the country outside New England from 1845 to 1885. *The Times of Melville and Whitman* (Dutton; \$5) is a flowing narrative that is neither the best nor the worst of his recent volumes; it is better composed than *The World of Washington Irving*, which preceded it, but less unified and impressive than the New England books. One virtue I find in it is that it reveals his aims more clearly than ever before. If we read it carefully, we find that most of the attacks on Brooks—how many there have been during the last few years!—are based on various misconceptions of his purpose as a historian.

That purpose is more specialized than critics had suspected. He is not writing a general treatise on American literature to compete with *The Cambridge History* or with *The Literary History of the United States*, soon to appear in three volumes. He is not describing the current of ideas, like Parrington, or the social background of literature, like Calverton, Hicks, Geismar and many others. He is not offering a critical analysis of separate authors, like F. O. Matthiessen, or an account of their aims and inner struggles, like Edmund Wilson. There is no parallel in American literature or that of any other country for the work he has undertaken. It is something new that developed from his own chain of reasoning.

Brooks in all his early works was preoccupied with the failure of American literature during the preceding half-century and with what he called "the singular impotence of its creative spirit."—"Our writers," he said in 1921, "all but universally lack the power of growth, the endurance that enables one to continue to produce personal work after the freshness of youth has gone. Such is the aspect of

our contemporary literature; beside that of almost any European country, it is indeed one long list of spiritual casualties. For it is not that the talent is wanting, but that somehow this talent fails to fulfill itself."

Tradition. Brooks has been ridiculed for this utter pessimism, which he expressed at a time when American literature was entering one of its brilliant periods; but he was thinking about the recent past and was stating the simple truth about it. American writers had been failing one after another; they had each flashed like a meteor and then they had been extinguished, Brooks said rightly, like so many candles. His early work was an extended inquiry into the reasons for their failure. He mentioned several reasons in his various works—commercialism, conventionality, deracination—but finally he settled on one reason that seemed to include all the others. It was the lack in his time of a living tradition—a body of experience transmitted from generation to generation of writers; an accumulation of standards that would serve them as unwritten laws; a medium in which they would be supported like swimmers in a sea.

But was the tradition really lacking, or had it simply been forgotten? After writing several literary biographies, Brooks found his answer to the question: the tradition was there, if we had the knowledge to grasp it. Then, in his present histories, he embarked on a search through American literature for what he described as a "usable past."

All this explains the change in emphasis that appears in his work after 1930. He still has a moral purpose—to make future writers greater by giving them higher ground on which to stand—but the purpose is hidden in

and beneath the texture of his work. On the surface he has turned from exhortation to scholarship, from lamenting to praising, at least by implication, and from thundering like an evangelist to lecturing almost like a guide. He is now interested in books chiefly when they mirror a new American background or a concern with the average man. In speaking of authors he emphasizes the *interconnections* among them, the points at which they come together to form a field of radiating forces that is like a magnetic field.

Method. A good example of his method, in the present volume, is his treatment of Bayard Taylor, the flimsy poet and entertaining traveler who was for many years regarded as a rival of the great New England authors. Brooks devotes eight pages to his literary career. This is about the same space that would be assigned to him by a more conventional historian, but there is nothing conventional in the set of facts that Brooks has chosen to mention. He doesn't tell us the date of Taylor's birth (1825) or the titles of his principal works in verse and prose. What we learn about him is chiefly:

1. That he belonged to the staff of the New York *Tribune*, like many other talented authors of his time (and elsewhere in the book Brooks lists them by name).

2. That he made his reputation by walking through Europe and sending back letters to the American press. On his return he was invited to dine with Bancroft, Cooper and Melville, while N. P. Willis wrote an introduction to his travels.

3. That he had grown up in southeastern Pennsylvania, which in some ways resembled rural New England as described in the novels of Harriet Beecher Stowe—"which the novels of Bayard Taylor in return resembled—though the people were less keen and their interests narrower and simpler, as Taylor's novels were dimmer, than Mrs. Stowe's." (Note that Brooks's critical comments on his authors are most often expressed as comparisons with other

American authors of the same period.)

4. That Taylor was first inspired to travel by reading Washington Irving, N. P. Willis and Longfellow's *Outre Mer*; and that later it was Irving who advised him to visit the Orient.

5. That he lectured on American literature in Weimar, Goethe's city, and introduced a distinguished audience to the works of Emerson, Longfellow and Bryant.

I won't bother to repeat other facts of the same nature in the eight-page passage on Taylor, or to list the 42 pages elsewhere in the book on which he is mentioned—always in connection with others—for I think that by now the nature of Brooks's emphasis is clear. What interests him in Taylor, as in most of the authors who appear in the present volume, is not their books or their private lives, but chiefly their points of contact with other au-

thors. Someone has said that Brooks's subjects never fall in love and never have children unless the children are authors too. The omission of family matters weakens some of his portraits, but families are inessential to his purpose. He is trying to show that American writers, besides existing in the social world, also moved in a closed system of their own. By discovering their points of contact, he creates, as it were, a medium in which the writers existed and in which they transmitted energy by collision, like so many planets or atoms.

Limits and renewals. Many critics, including T. S. Eliot and his followers, have talked about the value of a literary tradition, but they have left its nature a little vague. Brooks is the first author in any language to make a

tradition real and almost palpable by presenting it as a rich texture of meetings, readings and ideas passed from one writer to another.

There are one or two grave faults in Brooks's history when it is judged by its own aims and not by outside standards that critics try to impose on it.

I said that he developed his new historical method by a process of reasoning, but that was only part of the truth. When he turned from blaming to praising and from denunciations to elegies, there were psychological as well as logical factors involved in the change. Apparently he was tired of looking at the darker side of the literary life.

"I have an instinctive will to believe that all writers are virtuous men," he tells us in one of his later books, the *Opinions of Oliver Allston*. "Below the level," he continues, "where I agree or disagree with writers, I like and respect them all because they are writers." This will to believe in virtue sometimes weakens his judgments: for example, he has to admit that Whitman was sometimes a liar, but he refuses to understand the extent of the lies or the fact that Whitman presented a mask to the world. Sometimes he glosses over painful facts—as in the chapter on Melville that describes his idyllic friendship with Hawthorne, but fails to mention the estrangement that followed; and in the other chapter that presents Melville's later life as being almost happy, in spite of his loneliness and frustration.

Loneliness and frustration: those are two constant themes in American literature, and Brooks now slips over both of them (though God knows he had treated them at length in his earlier books). One would scarcely suspect from his gentle narrative that the years after the Civil War were a period of steep decline in our literary standards, when the best of our authors fled to Europe, or lived at home in poverty and neglect, or supported themselves by writing atrocious potboilers. He mentions Joseph Kirkland, the gifted Midwestern novelist, but not his despairing cry to Hamlin Garland, "I started too late!" He mentions Ed



DRAWING BY MACKEY

VAN WYCK BROOKS AND FRIENDS

Reading clockwise: Whitman, Emerson, Irving, Mark Twain

Howe, of Kansas, but not the utter sacrifice of his talent. He is no longer concerned with "spiritual casualties."

Achievement. Brooks's habit of treating chiefly the brighter side of the literary life is likely to involve him in a serious difficulty when he writes his next volume, which will deal with the period between 1885 and the First World War.

This was a period marked by a catastrophic break in the literary tradition. Younger writers no longer followed older writers in this country, as Taylor had learned his craft from Irving and the kindly N. P. Willis; and older writers no longer saluted the appearance of their younger rivals. Dreiser and his naturalistic colleagues had to fight their way forward as revolutionists, almost as outlaws; and the inter-war generation that followed them rejected even Dreiser, preferring to copy foreign models such as Flaubert and Joyce. Everything started over as if from the beginning; the wonder is that it developed so soon into what we can now recognize as a native pattern.

When Brooks comes to describe this revolt, I don't see how he can fit it into the framework of his story. How could anyone rebel against the relatively happy scene that he has been describing? How could anyone reject or even remain in ignorance of such a rich tradition? His narrative has been too calm and confident; it seems to leave no place for catastrophic changes.

Yet for all these faults and others that might be mentioned, Brooks's story of the literary life in America is a work of real magnitude and lasting value. As it moves forward volume after volume, its movement and structure are those of a vast symphony, the most impressive that any American is writing. It has already succeeded in its aim of giving future writers a tradition to which their own work can be referred. This was the "usable past" for which Brooks was seeking, but it wasn't something to be merely found again, like a lost masterpiece. It had to be created afresh, out of historical elements, and that is Brooks's principal achievement.



THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

BENITO JUAREZ: "... natural force ..."

MEN, EVENTS AND IDEAS

JUAREZ AND HIS MEXICO, by Ralph Roeder (The Viking Press; two volumes; \$10).

THERE IS SOMETHING inescapably dramatic about lost causes, whether represented by debonair Jacobite rebels toasting their king across the water, the Southern Confederacy going down to defeat amid the smoke and flame of Atlanta and Richmond, or an Austrian Archduke gallantly facing a firing squad at Queretaro. It is a quality so widely accepted that the ill starred Maximilian, whose rash adventure in empire came toppling down as soon as the bayonets of Napoleon III ceased supporting him, continues to loom larger in the world's imagination than the far more important figure of the implacable Indian who destroyed him. It is too much to expect that one work, even when so monumental in size and scope as *Juarez and His Mexico*, will succeed in redressing the balance, but this two-volume biographical history on which Ralph Roeder, the ex-actor known mainly for his studies of Renaissance personages, has worked for seven years, is an impressive enough achievement to go far in doing so.

Despite the highly colored episodes recorded and the striking background of history always present, *Juarez and His Mexico* is chiefly concerned with the ideas behind the external events. It is the philosophical aspects of revolution, social progress and the devel-

opment of the Mexican people, rather than the astonishing cast of flamboyant and generally theatrical characters involved in the story of those epic days, that provide the author with his major material.

What is surprising is the manner in which the work is dominated by the one man of the era who was neither flamboyant nor theatrical. The imperturbable, self-effacing Benito Juarez was so gifted at remaining stolidly in the background that he fooled the representatives of the foreign powers into a fatal underestimation of his stature. As Roeder effectively shows, it was an understandable failure on their part, since the greatness of Juarez was that of some irresistible natural force rather than of an inspiring and emotionally exciting national leader, and his leadership was based on moral integrity. It is interesting to note that in the end the doomed and dreamy Maximilian came to understand the quality of his victorious enemy far more clearly than did any of the Indian's more subtle or worldly foes.

Maximilian. If Maximilian ceases to be the central figure of romantic tragedy his melancholy fate tends to make him, and appears as a stubborn, futile and misguided adventurer, of infinitely less stature than his adversary, there is that in his sincere idealism, his courageous bearing in defeat and his decency of purpose which makes him just as attractive and pathetic in his misfortune as he has always seemed. His wife, Carlota, with her desperate efforts to save her husband and her eventual madness, is likewise, despite her ambition, touching in her tragedy.

Roeder, in addition, grants her a final touch of political wisdom in her eventual realization that revolutions arise from "the necessity of restoring to humanity millions of men" who had hitherto been "in a state of disastrous submission." Even Napoleon III, whose selfishness, ambition and guile brought about the whole monstrous imperial adventure bent on destroying Mexican independence, is revealed as less a melodramatic scoundrel than a sort of modern Hamlet.

The men around Juarez, an odd, pic-

turesque and volatile assemblage of temperaments, appear as considerably more colorful and dramatic in themselves than was their leader, but vastly inferior to him in moral qualities and general steadfastness of spirit. The closest to him in character and integrity seems to have been Ocampo, the companion of his earlier exile, and a warm-hearted and courageous idealist, who was the gallant victim of savage clerical reaction. The most psychologically complicated was Degollado, the patriot leader who seized some 200,000 pesos from a British-owned mine to pay for the upkeep of his disintegrating army, and was so stricken by a sense of sin over what he had done that the resulting soul-struggle ruined his political and military integrity.

Diaz and company. There were others of varying degrees of capacity and honor, such as the young Porfirio Diaz, whose dictatorship was to rule Mexico for 35 years, undo the reforms of Juarez and unintentionally pave the way for the revolution of Madero, Carranza and Villa, and the democratic progress under Cardenas: Gonzalez Ortega, the politically dubious patriot general; Zarco, the able editor and progressive leader; Prieto, the hysterical but well intentioned liberal poet and, going back to the dawn of the independence movement, Father Hidalgo, the inspirational and ill fated patriot priest.

When we turn to the forces of opposition, there are such figures as General Bazaine, the fierce and stubborn French commander of Maximilian's troops, who was so hopelessly subjugated by his wife; the liberal Spanish general, Prim, who quit the expedition against Mexico in disgust; the sinister French consul, de Saligny, who was the closest thing to a villain of melodrama in the whole adventure; Miramon, the conservative Mexican general who was apparently the only leader of clerical reaction with a spark of decency, and the several young French officers, whose indignant letters home Roeder uses so skillfully.

With such an enormous pageant to report, it is especially to the credit of the author that he never loses sight

of the social and political implications involved. The central theme of history is that independent Mexico was "a feudal colony born into the contemporary world of expanding capitalism and compelled to contend with it for national survival," and that, by 1848, Mexicans understood that "as the world went, so would Mexico go, once it was involved in its movements, and all the more readily because of its remoteness and all the more blindly because of its backwardness." It must not be overlooked that Mexico achieved her independence, not through any progressive democratic struggle against Spanish tyranny, the feudalism of the great landowners and the backwardness of the political church, but as a sort of temporary gift from the reactionary landowners and clergy who feared the repercussions in Mexico of a liberal government in Spain. Thus, after the nominal independence of the country had been gained, there was still the revolution against the two remaining tyrannies to be fought. Then, instead of a decadent Spanish power to be repelled, there was the combined imperialism of the second French Empire, the aggressive capitalism of England and the Manifest Destiny of the growing United States.

Roeder makes it clear that, while Juarez, who was by no means a fiery radical, did not envision the complete social and economic revolution that was necessary in Mexico, his glory was that he not only fought off successfully the more immediate perils of political clericalism and foreign aggression, but provided the Mexican people with a tradition of national freedom that was to give them spiritual strength for later struggles, not yet concluded.

To other eyes. For us there is particular value in seeing ourselves through the eyes of others in a day when our aggressive intentions against them meant one war and a frequent threat of annexation. But there is encouragement, too, in recalling that, however dubious our conduct was at times, in the end our moral support played a great part in helping Juarez to resist the designs of imperial France.

There are innumerable other themes of interest, such as the Mexican faith in the US based on the conviction that it was the advocates of slavery who were also the advocates of the war against them, or the ironic and timely picture of the moderate Mexican liberals who were terrified into losing their liberal faith by what they regarded as the excesses of pre-1848 European socialism. There is, likewise, the historically valuable and extremely accurate comment on the European imperialistic designs on Mexico made by Karl Marx when he was correspondent for the New York *Tribune*. *Juarez and His Mexico* is sometimes inclined to be heavy and overelaborate in its style and narrative, but it is a work of insight and importance.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

A READER'S LIST

The Marshall Fields, by John Tebbel (Dutton; \$3.75). Marshall Field I rose from farm boy to multi-millionaire in the era of the great American fortunes. His grandson, Marshall III, inherited the bulk of the money at a time when "the uses of wealth itself were the basis of a worldwide ideological struggle." In this joint biography of the two men, Tebbel tries to relate each to the age in which he lived and to show, through the Fields and their actions, a changing America. The book is an interesting study of a remarkable American family and of the growth of such enterprises as the Marshall Field store, *PM* and the *Chicago Sun*.

The Proper Bostonians, by Cleveland Amory (Dutton; \$4.50). This is the first in a projected series of independent volumes on "Society in America." Dealing with a defiantly independent segment of American civilization, Boston's all-powerful minority of "first families," Amory does a skillful and amusing job of tracing their growth and the results of their ages-long struggle between God and Mammon. With anecdotes, some familiar, the author underlines the strengths and weaknesses of the Boston Brahmin and sets a high mark for the rest of the series.

UN NEWS: The Propaganda War

A BRITISHER who is in the United States for the first time since the war ended, and whose politics are decidedly Tory, confessed to me the other day that he had never seen anything like the hysterical war propaganda printed in the American press every day. "It's unbelievable," he said. "No responsible European of any political party would tolerate it."

This is the simple but fundamental reason why the General Assembly, with the exception of the US, was determined to pass some kind of resolution against warmongering. So general was the agreement on its existence that even the United States could not buck the final compromise resolution condemning it. The fact that the New York Times reported this unanimous agreement under a head reading, "UN

Peace Appeal Adopted: Replacing 'Warmonger' Ban," in no way minimizes the fact that the USSR brought the matter to the attention of the Assembly, compromised where compromise was imperative and won support for a resolution which is in fact a direct slap at the United States, although the US is nowhere mentioned by name. The Soviet press is on the spot, too. American publications have been more flagrant, but *Pravda*, at the very least, has kept warmongering alive in the USSR. If the Soviet Union wants to use state control for peaceful ends, this is one place to start.

The resolution "condemns all forms of propaganda . . . designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace . . ." and it requests member governments to implement this

condemnation and encourage information of a peace-loving nature. It is difficult to see what the US can and will do to implement it—that's why Warren Austin insisted that enforcement steps be taken "within . . . constitutional limitations."

Will they reform? It will be interesting to note future statements by Forrestal, Marshall, Bullitt and Dulles. Will Walter Winchell curb his anti-Soviet pronouncements? Will *Life* magazine refrain from further lead articles on China's fate as "a satellite of Russia" unless the US bolsters Chiang Kai-shek with dollars? Will the New York *World-Telegram* revise its headline chart, which, in the recent past, has included a William Philip Simms series entitled "Hemisphere Maps Defense Against Red Fifth Columns" and an inside-page series about how "Commies Invade the Church"?

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dential or a State Department directive urging an end to the war of nerves against Russia; nothing to prevent a liberalization of US foreign policy; there is nothing to prevent the US delegation to the United Nations from sending editors all over the country a copy of this warmongering resolution: nothing, that is, except their own beliefs, an election year, and the fact that editors would laugh.

Notes. During the Security Council debate on fighting in Indonesia, Juliusz Katz-Suchy of Poland remarked, with some justice, that he had to note “the enormous disproportion” in the treatment of Indonesia and Greece. The countries that were most vigorous in condemning Greece’s northern neighbors now want to solve the Indonesian problem, he said, by “some mild action which would not prevent the Dutch from gaining a quick victory.” . . . Since the US disavows any contact with natives in drawing up its proposals for Korean independence, there must have been mental telepathy between our representatives and Syngman Rhee, US-sponsored southern Korean nationalist leader. Rhee’s representative to the UN, Louise Yim, has made suggestions for elections and the withdrawal of troops which are strangely similar to those presented by the US. Miss Yim has also stated that, although there is practically no communication between north and south Korea, “over 90 percent of the northern Koreans are pro-nationalist and agree with our plan for independence.”

JANE BEDELL

Errata

In the author’s note to his article in the issue of October 13, Irving Dilliard was erroneously described as the “chief editorial writer” of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Dilliard corrects us as follows: “Ralph Coghlan is, has been for a long time, and I hope will go on being editor of our editorial page for years to come. I am ‘an’ editorial writer.”

In the second paragraph of the story “Up Go Profits” on page seven of the issue of October 27, please read “product” for “profit.”
—THE EDITORS

FARM

Anderson’s Program

WHEN Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson started getting experts together last year to work out a plan for a long-range agricultural program (see “Planning an Ever Normal Diet” the NR, October 27), he received advice from a number of the farm organizations. Anderson picked out all the ideas that the major farm organizations agreed on, added a few they disagreed on and presented them in a lump to the joint Senate-House committee last month.

As you would expect, most of Anderson’s program has been endorsed as constructive by the Farm Bureau, the National Grange and the National Farmers’ Union. The Farm Bureau letter of October 15 came out with the statement: “Department of Agriculture views on a permanent farm program coincide with Farm Bureau recommendations on the need for hanging on to present programs.” And Russell Smith, legislative representative of the Farmers’ Union, told me that revision of parity, the food-allotment plan and the election of county agricultural committees had been recommended by the Union for years.

Food tickets. The chief thing about which farm organizations do disagree in the proposed program is the food allotment scheme whereby food tickets would be issued to supplement an underprivileged family’s diet. J. Don Parel, assistant director of the Washington Farm Bureau, told me that the Farm Bureau was opposed to any such schemes except in cases of “dire necessity.” You may be certain that the US Chamber of Commerce and other such groups will come out against Anderson’s scheme to do away with hunger. “We do not believe the Department of Agriculture should be concerned about people in cities. Its job is to see that the farmers get adequate prices,” Parel said.

Although the Farm Bureau people

enjoy Anderson's talk about abundant production, they refuse to hear anything about underconsumption; although they are willing (in fact, they demand) that the government guarantee 90-percent parity by means of commodity loans and other methods, they are against outright subsidies to anybody, including themselves.

This fits in with ideas that a number of well-to-do farmers have expressed to me. Such farmers want to go down to the market place and sell their goods at high prices. And they want crop acreage adjusted to demand. This is just a fancy way of saying we should have an economy of scarcity, and that is the direction Farm Bureau thinking takes.

Actually there is nothing wrong with limiting acreage of certain crops, any more than there is in expanding acreage of others. But such planning should be based on the needs of the people and not on prices. Then if the farmer doesn't get enough, the government should make up the difference.

Not this Congress. All in all, there are so many good things in Anderson's program that it is very easy to believe that most, if not all, of the problems of agriculture will be solved if it is put into effect. Because nearly everybody has endorsed most of the program, you suspect that Utopia is just around the corner.

Then you remember Congress. There is no more chance of Congress passing the food-allotment program than there is of Taft turning Communist. The House of Representatives that voted to cut school lunches, cut conservation, cut reclamation, cut out many needed services, will never vote low-cost food for the general population.

So you give up the idea of food al-

lotments as unrealistic at this time. Of course with another Congress things will be different, maybe. But right now we have this Congress. Taber (R, N. Y., chairman of the House Appropriations Committee) and all the rest will be in there fighting on November 17.

Well, anyway, you say to yourself, we have the rest of Anderson's beautiful program, and since the farm organizations are for it and since next year is an election year, you figure there's a good chance for Congress to enact it. And with consumption now as high as a cat's back (so high that according to the Farm Bureau it has caused inflation), you figure the need for food stamps is not pressing.

So you go back and mull over Anderson's glowing statements again. Then suddenly you realize that something is missing in all his proposals. He barely mentions the family-sized farm and hasn't a single concrete proposal for assisting its owner. Yet aid for the small farmer is what has been bothering everybody interested in agriculture. Everybody knows that farmers are getting fewer and fewer and that the corporation, migratory-worker, feudal way of life is replacing the family-sized-farm way of life.

Curiously enough, none of Anderson's corps of experts except Claude R. Wickard, head of the Rural Electrification Administration, seemed interested in the small farmer.

Anderson has designed a beautiful house for agriculture, even put in an apartment for the American consumer, but he has forgotten the family-sized farmer who is the keystone of our whole agricultural structure.

You can recommend price support, conservation, research, rural electrification until doomsday, but unless you see to it that the small farmer has some products to be price-supported, some soil to be conserved, some wastes to be utilized and a home to be electrified, these recommendations, even if Congress enacts them, will produce no great flow of milk and honey in the land.

ANGUS McDONALD



DRAWING BY HARRY DIX

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JOHN DEWEY

"There is not a citizen of this country who does not have an interest, whether he is aware of it or not, in understanding the difficulties we have in getting along with the Soviet Union. I doubt if there is anything in existence that is the equal for this purpose of 'I Want To Be Like Stalin.' It is not the product of an outsider, much less one unfavorably disposed to the U.S.S.R. It is a direct translation of official Russian documents. . . . The following passage is no literary flourish. For those who have eyes to see it expels the mysteries that otherwise surround the policies of the Soviet Union.

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THE

New Republic's new Classified Advertising Section appears on pages 38 and 39 of this issue. You will find that it makes fascinating reading.

MUSIC: Breaking the Tradition

A 24-year-old lyric soprano sang Mimi in Puccini's "La Bohème" for the first time in her life last week with the New York City Opera Company. It was not a remarkable performance, though some day it may be if her acting becomes less studied and her middle voice gains enough solidity to match her intense and often beautiful upper tones. Inasmuch as a good many sopranos can sing Mimi's uncomplicated music attractively, the occasion might not seem to call for comment here. But Camilla Williams is a Negro.

In the all-Negro companies which have sprung up intermittently in various cities, such capable artists as Lillian Evanti of Washington and La Julia Rhea and William Franklin of Chicago have distinguished themselves before a limited audience. Abbie Mitchell and a few other Negro sopranos have sung the role of Aïda with white casts, for Aïda is an Ethiopian. Marian Anderson, Dorothy Maynor and Carol Brice have had no opportunity to sing in opera at all.

In the two seasons since her debut Miss Williams has repeatedly broken with precedent. First she sang Madame Butterfly, a part traditionally open to Orientals but never before to a dark-skinned American. Then she sang Nedda in "Pagliacci." But Nedda is so hard-boiled that no believable love attachment seems to exist between her and the clown-husband she betrays; until last week no mixed couple (the tenor was William Horne) had appeared together in an operatic story of conventional romantic love.

A tribute to democracy. The readiness—even the extra enthusiasm—with which Miss Williams' Mimi was applauded is a tribute to the opera-going public of New York. Even more it is proof of the infectious belief of Laszlo Halasz, director of the New York City Opera Company, in practical democracy.

The public has understood the impartiality and integrity with which

Halasz offers opportunities to young artists, and it has taken the City Opera Company to its heart. This fall attendance at every type of opera from "Rigoletto" to "Salome" has been so large that the whole seven weeks' schedule, including the construction of



settings for three new works, will probably come out in the black—at a \$2.40 top. In a 19-week New York season the Metropolitan, with a house nearly twice as large and orchestra seats priced at \$7.50, cannot break even without the aid of the Texas Company's broadcasts, a profit-making road tour and a special drive by the Opera Guild to raise funds for new scenery. Something must be wrong with the Metropolitan's economics.

Success story. Besides providing persuasive opera at less than theater prices, the City Opera has launched many gifted singers on their careers. Ramon Vinay, Giuseppe Valdengo and Polyna Stoska, all City Opera graduates, are now in the Metropolitan. Virginia Haskins, Brenda Lewis and William Horne ought to be. An astonishing but completely inexperienced dramatic soprano, Suzy Morris, started this fall toward what looks like inevitable fame. In her first stage appearance anywhere she tackled the cruel role of Strauss's "Ariadne auf Naxos" and sounded like a veteran, though only a few weeks earlier she had not known that a conductor always beats

a down-beat at the first of each measure. As the Composer in the same opera, Wilma Spence, who had previously done nothing more demanding than "The Merry Widow," also showed a remarkable flair for big operatic projection.

Halasz is finding many of the leading singers of the future and giving them the kind of training the older American singers had to go to Europe to get. There is nothing wrong with municipal sponsorship of music when it is administered like this.

New recordings. In ample time for the coming Christmas trade, Columbia has issued "Hansel and Gretel" as the first product of a new contract calling for two full-length recordings of Metropolitan performances yearly. Humperdinck's fairy-tale opera is an ideal initial choice. The whole family can enjoy it, for both children and adults love the familiar story (sung in typical libretto English) and the folklike music dressed up in rich "Meister-singer" orchestration. Since "Hansel and Gretel" is a short opera, the set is relatively cheap (Columbia MOP-26, two albums boxed, \$17.70, with tax).

Risë Stevens as Hansel and Nadine Conner as Gretel skip through their roles nimbly and with good teamwork, though Miss Stevens' unsteady vocal processes are not concealed by the microphone, and Miss Conner's crystalline lyric soprano was not recorded on one of its most effortless days. As the parents, Claramae Turner and John Brownlee bluster appropriately, but you can scarcely understand a word they say. Most of the witch's menace is effaced by the Met's strange habit of assigning the part to Thelma Votipka, whose singing, despite all she can do, is much too beautiful.

Raoul Jobin, the Metropolitan's leading French tenor, has recorded six French operatic arias. In the invocation to nature from Berlioz's "Damnation of Faust" and the opening apostrophe of the balcony scene in Gounod's "Romeo and Juliet," Jobin sings with a good deal of passion. The other performances, while drier, are presented with style (Columbia MM-696, \$4.60, with tax).

CECIL SMITH

BANDWAGON

Keeley Cure

The time has come for action by the United States, now, Ciechanowsky [former Polish Ambassador to the US] said.

"By that, I do not mean war. But a few marines in the right place might have a sobering effect on Soviet Russia." — *From the Daily Palo Alto Times.*

The Hard Way

The prospect of widespread increases in the price of bread may stimulate greater participation by eastern housewives in President Truman's "save a slice of bread a day" campaign. — *AP dispatch from Washington.*

Question, Please

This Is a Calculator—Turn the Dials of Harvard's Mark II and Out Comes Any Answer
— *Caption on a picture in the Christian Science Monitor.*

Chinese Puzzle

In other words, the black-market rate will henceforth become the open-market rate, thereby causing the elimination of black-market operations. — *Reuter dispatch from Tientsin.*

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MOVIES: The Enchanted Princess

SHIRLEY TEMPLE must present a formidable problem to the artists and businessmen of Hollywood. She is the final perfect product of their cosmic system. In other performers you may find star and artist and human being mixed; Miss Temple is pure star.

On the basis of her own resources, there is no reason why Miss Temple should have been distilled to this crystalline purity. She has a face and figure which, while so usual as to seem an American composite, are undeniably pretty; she seems alert and good-natured; she learned early, Lord knows, to go through her paces with professional facility and attention to detail. There is no evidence that she has unusual ability, but she should be able to carry out simple roles with enough conviction to be a reliable craftsman.

The trouble is that she is part of a maudlin folklore. Her face on the screen seems twice normal size, so often has it been thrust on us from billboards and magazines and theater marquees. Her simplest gestures recall the monstrous precocity with which she was made to skip and preen through films of a decade or more ago. She was long since abducted from her rightful guardians and made the child of a particularly bad mass dream, and there is little she or they can do about it at this date. Thus, you get such films as "That Hagen Girl."

Charmed circle. The most painful part of this very painful picture is the contrast it insists on between Miss Temple and the rest of the cast. There are no notable actors in the film and no promising roles, but the supporting players are at least permitted to essay some characterization, to express some credible emotions. They build up their secondary personalities according to their abilities, but they do so at a respectful distance from their star. It is possible, even, to embrace her without overstepping that circle except in the necessary physical sense.

She, meanwhile, goes through a rep-

ertory. "Smile, Miss Temple; weep, Miss Temple." "You are amused, Miss Temple; you are indignant; you are grateful; you are miserable; you are, in fact, about to throw yourself into the river." There is a school play within a play in this picture: "Romeo and Juliet." The opportunity for burlesque has not been overlooked, and the boys and girls play Shakespeare with high-school ineptness. Miss Temple is Juliet—a doll Juliet for a corner cupboard. This is enchantment of a most unhappy kind, and Hollywood shows no likelihood of stumbling on the magic word to free its princess.

The sociologically minded may be interested to know that the sorrows of Miss Temple in this instance are caused by a widespread belief in the town of Jordan that she is the illegitimate offspring of the town's heiress and its most attractive bachelor. The libel could have been scotched at any time by the worthy couple who adopted her, but the only way the writers have seen out of the impasse is to have her marry her putative father. Miss Temple has been involved here in a situation with unhealthy overtones. R. L. H.

Flashbacks

MAN ABOUT TOWN—Maurice Chevalier throws away his straw hat to play an ingratiating lead in René Clair's excellent new comedy. Commentary in English by Chevalier.

RIDE THE PINK HORSE—Expertly contrived crook picture with Robert Montgomery as director and star.

FOREVER AMBER—Linda Darnell walks through a necessarily purified but unnecessarily boring treatment of the notorious novel. **GREEN DOLPHIN STREET**—An unusual case of mistaken identity sends this costume spectacle on a very slow voyage around the world. Lana Turner and Van Heflin head a big-money cast.

LIFE WITH FATHER—A dilute screen version for those who unaccountably never saw the play.

THEATER: Buy-British Week

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE investigating un-American activities must now be taking a dim view of the theater. Two plays by foreigners have settled down for long runs on Broadway, and nightly pour torrents of what the committee must feel is un-American doctrine into guileless native ears.

"An Inspector Calls" could easily be assayed by such "friendly witnesses" as Lela Rogers as communism, very thinly disguised. It is gloomy, it shows a rich manufacturer and his family as something less than angels, and it describes the plight of a poor girl of the working class who is driven by injustice first to prostitution and then to death.

The second importation, "The Winslow Boy," would fare no better in the committee room. With wry and almost too-pat timing, a play whose story is of an unjustly accused cadet who is refused a fair trial by his government, chose to open during the very week when 10 citizens of the United States were in contempt of Congress for refusing to reveal the nature of their politics.

The hopeful concept. I believe, from their works, that Terence Rattigan, the author of "The Winslow Boy," and J. B. Priestley are on opposite sides of the political fence. Priestley is an ardent socialist and Rattigan probably described his own politics when he had a character in his play say of himself that he was a "liberal-conservative." Where Priestley's upper-middle-class family represents the demons of greed and callousness, Rattigan's retired banker and knighted barrister fight politely, tenaciously, and with unflinching charm, for the sweet principle of absolute justice for the individual in his dealings with the state. But both playwrights believe in justice; moreover, they believe that if we are shown our sins we will repent them and mend our ways.

On the technical side, Rattigan has come up with a better play and a superior production. Under the direction of Glen Byam Shaw, an all-English cast performs with that dry, mannerly ease that seems to elude our home-grown talent. Frank Allenby, in particular, is superb as Sir Robert Morton, a distillation of eighteenth-century-comedy dandies, with an exquisite sneer of fastidious boredom always on his face. Alan Webb, as the father of the unfortunate boy, brings a well bred but convincingly fanatical probity to the part of the man who would sacrifice fortune, family, his life itself, in the pure cause of principle.

Only in the casting of the youngster does the play suffer. Michael Newell, as Ronnie Winslow, has all the mannerisms of Gertrude Lawrence after she has been playing the same part for a year—a grievous burden for a 14-year-old schoolboy to carry.

The play itself wanders rather aimlessly in the second part of the last act, but by that time Rattigan's characters have so endeared themselves to us that we are foolishly pleased to go along with them.

A less economical playwright might have added another set and shown us some part of the trial. It would have supplied the vigor and form that the end of the play now lacks.

"Tricky but sound." Priestley's play gives the impression of being an interesting and rewarding theatrical idea, written overhastily. Delighted with his tricky, but sound central notion, Priestley seems to have been content to deck it out with threadbare characters and ancient plot devices.

In the most perceptively written part, Melville Cooper bumbles, whines, plays with shrewd, cunning vulgarity in another of his excellent performances. Thomas Mitchell, it seemed to me, played so quietly that he made no effect on the evening. IRWIN SHAW

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TURN

to page 38 and 39 for this
week's edition of New Re-
public's Classified Section . . .

RADIO: Tour of Inspection

THE LATEST TREND in radio makes silence truly golden. A New York station, copycatting an idea developed by a West Coast outlet, has acquired a sponsor for its off-the-air time. Each night, when the station is ready to close down, an announcer tenderly dedicates the ensuing segment of silence to a maker of mattresses. The Pacific man, who got the idea first, used it even more imaginatively. His sponsor is an undertaker.

The two sellers of silence are non-network stations. The webs, too, could stand some imagination. NBC prides itself, and justly, on its comedy and variety roster. One of its best contributions now in this classification is Al Jolson (Thursdays, nine p.m.). I feel, however, that there is nothing very enterprising about the rejuvenation of a Jolson. How far can radio go on nostalgia? The ABC network answers that one: it has brought back Groucho Marx on Monday nights at eight. In the movies, he was my favorite comedian until Danny Kaye grew up. But here on ABC he is miscast as emcee for an audience-quizz show. What is radio's rating here for sensible use of Marx's talent?

CBS pioneers. The only program that has depressed me more than Groucho Marx recently was the last big documentary on CBS. But in this case, the reaction was exactly what the producers wanted. By contrast, everything else currently on the air seems second-rate.

The show, a "one-shot," was called "Fear Begins at Forty." As with its other great documentaries, CBS tackled the problem honestly and with thoroughness. The producers had sense enough, and enough good taste, to let the facts speak for themselves. Arnold Perl, who did the script, employed the severely straightforward statement that has come to characterize this skilled writer's documentary work. Eddie Albert, narrating the story, made the listener feel he was right

in the room with the man of 40 telling of the deterioration that broke his father between 60 and 65. John Dietz directed the hour so tightly that the stark horror of joblessness at 60 took on massive, ominous weight.

"Fear" was followed on the CBS network that night with the second of the new series of "CBS Is There" shows which are back on the air now (Tuesdays, 10:30 p.m.). The format is simple enough, only no one thought of using the trick until Robert Lewis Shayon hit upon it. A historic event is relived on the radio as if CBS had its microphones and news commentators on the spot at the time it occurred. I may be doing the program an injustice by labeling it "educational," but it will not hurt Junior to stay up to hear it. Nor would it hurt other broadcasters, quick enough to imitate a competitor's practices when they involve salesmanship, to follow CBS in this case.

No takers. A local show in New York, which has set a pattern for courageous radio dramatization of "controversial" matters, is "New World A-Coming," on WMCA. This program, centering on the problems of minorities, is back on the air for its fourth successive season. For three years, WMCA has tried to interest stations around the country in purchasing transcriptions of this program. The station is willing to sell the show without a profit, but union regulations make it necessary to charge a fee for the transcriptions. If only 50 stations

bought the program, the expense would be nominal. At least 150 stations are now playing the Tommy Dorsey transcribed disc-jockey show. But of the 1,320 radio licensees in the United States, there aren't 50 who will buy "New World A-Coming."

Controversial issues. You may recall that when the newly proposed broadcasters' "code of practice" was reported here (NR, September 29), we observed that, under the code, broadcasters would not be allowed to dramatize political matters or "controversial" issues like those that give substance to "New World A-Coming."

Well, that's being taken care of now. Led by Ted Cott, of WNEW, New York, the non-network stations, which had not previously been consulted, are now participating in framing a new code. Many of the local stations are interested only in preserving their competitive position against the networks which made the first draft. But in the process of determining the length of commercials, the independents have drawn attention to more important provisions of the code—like the outlawing of political and controversial dramatizations. It looks as though these will still be on the air, despite opposition from the networks and the heads of the NAB.

Just published. Two recent books deserve mention. One is Paul W. White's *News on the Air* (Harcourt, Brace; \$3.50). White was CBS' news chief for a number of years, including the hectic period from the beginning to the end of World War II. Though written primarily for the student, there are pointers for commentators as well. Good reading for listeners who want to get behind the scenes.

Another "inside" book is a revised edition of *The Future of Television*, by Orrin E. Dunlap Jr. (Harpers; \$3). Dunlap is a vice-president of Radio Corporation of America. But, though he makes short shrift of the RCA competition—practically ignoring such television pioneers as Allen B. DuMont and CBS' Dr. Peter Goldmark—his simplification of complex technical information is superb. SAUL CARSON



DRAWING BY NEUWIRTH

FOREIGN PRESS: The Voice of the Pack

PREVIOUS reports in this space have observed that, journalistically speaking, there are already two Germanys: Red-East and Gray-West. But during the last fortnight, the colors have begun to merge because a French word, *démontage* (dismantling), has aroused German nationalist feeling to a pitch transcending expedient sycophancy.

On October 16, a joint US-British announcement disclosed to Germans the list of plants to be dismantled for reparations in "Bizonia." It was answered by a storm of anti-*démontage* and anti-Allied press agitation startling in the brazenness with which a defeated enemy, with whom we are technically still at war, takes us to task for daring to insist on even a fraction of the terms of their surrender.

Cries of pain. Under the original plan, drawn in conformity with the Potsdam Agreement's specification that the German standard of living be reduced to a level "not exceeding the standard of living of European countries [excluding Russia and Great Britain]," more than 1,600 factories were slated for dismantling. The new order calls for only 682. But this moderation is deliberately and totally ignored by German press and German politicians, as is the fact that the industrial capacity left to Germany under the present plan almost equals the industry she had in 1936, before Hitler's aggressions took open form.

The western German press attack on *démontage* is more virulent than that of Russian-controlled papers because publication of the *démontage* order exploded the western German hope that we will forgive, forget and apply ourselves diligently to rebuilding German might. The Russians, having completed dismantling more than a year ago, have since then taken reparations out of production. Therefore German papers in the Russian zone, which whimpered but did not cry out at Russian *démontage*, now report with relish German screams

from the western zones. The situation has put Germans in the Russian zone in the happy position of being able to criticize the Western powers via the *démontage* order.

Die Tägliche Rundschau of Berlin, which frequently sets the line most acceptable to the Russians, recalls sardonically that the "Western-influenced Germans," who objected strenuously when the Russians took payment out of current German production, now say: "It would have been simpler, less painful to all concerned and more effective if the Western powers had solved their reparations problem by permitting existent German factories to work for reparations."

Rundschau insinuates that the principal reason for the decision of the Western powers to effect the dismantling is their desire to destroy German industrial competition—an old line in the Russian-controlled German press. But no one familiar with the docile *Neue Zeit*, organ of the Christian Democratic Union, would expect such talk from US Military Government's favorite political party for more than two years. *Démontage* has wiped out the memory of past favors and *Neue Zeit*, its hackles of nationalism bristling, writes that the selection of plants slated for dismantling raises "the ugly suspicion that a hand in the decision was played" by Western industrial interests "wishing to prevent German industrial competition growing beyond a certain acceptable point."

The handsomest flower in the OMGUS press garden is *Der Tagesspiegel*. MG officers have boasted that, playing the news straight, it has won the largest circulation of any US-licensed paper. But *Tagesspiegel* has learned some of the cute tricks of objectivity practised by respected newspapers elsewhere. It quotes "objectively" the Ministerpresident of Württemberg-Baden, Rheinhold Maier:

"Germans will have to fight" against the dismantling of plants that are not strictly in the war-material-producing category; and reports British-zone CDU leader Dr. Adenauer as saying: "The present plan to loot German industry has no more relation to the rights of peoples, the Hague Convention or any other peaceful agreement than has the already begun confiscation of German patents."

Brief examples from one British and one French-licensed newspaper will suffice to give the pitch of the strident chorus sung as the industrial west of Germany at last receives the bill for a minuscule amount of the cost of the war.

The French-licensed daily, *Der Kurier*, describes the panic created in the industrial Ruhr by the special radio announcements and special editions of newspapers disclosing the US-British *démontage* list. "It was an endless chain of well known plants," writes *Kurier*. "There seemed to be no end to the list. . . . City mayors everywhere summoned key staffs to emergency sessions; chambers of commerce and industry called meetings; the effects of diminished tax returns and rising costs of city administration and public welfare were estimated; plant management sent representatives to Düsseldorf and refused to be silenced by the word 'final'." (The *démontage* list was issued as "final.")

The British-licensed *Der Sozialdemokrat* prominently displays the call to active resistance of party spokesman Erich Ollenhauer: "I don't believe that under the circumstances anyone can expect German labor to assist in the dismantling of plants and machines which are only and exclusively in the service of peace-production."

Having returned to the control of the German people not only the press of the country but the radio as well, AMG has little chance to combat this resurgent German nationalism. In the words of Social Democratic Deputy Fischer, reported in *Neues Deutschland*: "The longer the sun of democracy shines on Germans, the browner they get."

EVA PUTNAM

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

In these pages, the New Republic introduces several departments of informational and news advertising in the fields of communication. Advertisements, to be acceptable, must be factual in character or objectively descriptive, or they can be recommendations by authorities or critics. Ads are listed by category, in the form of a directory, to give you easy access to the fields of your interest. Readers will find these listings, which will vary from week to week, of continuing interest.

Contents:

BOOKS 38, 39
Biography; Dictionaries and Reference Works; Drama; Education; Fiction; Labor; Philosophy; Psychology; Reprints; Self-Help; Special Interest; Travel; Bookstores; Periodicals.

ORGANIZATIONS 39

The FINE ARTS Department, which appeared in last week's issue, will appear next in the issue of December 1st.

BOOKS

Several classifications of books appear each week in this department, but not necessarily the same ones. From time to time, there will be listings of low-priced reprints; old and rare and special book dealers; and notices of related services in the field of publishing.

BIOGRAPHY

THE HOODED HAWK, or *The Case of Mr. Boswell*, by D. B. Wyndham Lewis, Longmans, \$4. It is the author's aim, in this biography, to dispel the prejudice, acidosis and priggery which have surrounded James Boswell's memory. Doing so involves many diversions connected with the stench and glitter of eighteenth-century London.

DICTIONARIES AND REFERENCE WORKS

COLUMBIA DICTIONARY OF MODERN EUROPEAN LITERATURE, gen. ed. Horatio Smith, Columbia, \$10. All living writers of thirty-one literatures who have attained eminence in their art are described historically and critically, as are their immediate literary predecessors. Approximately 1,200 authors are represented, from about 1870 to the present.

THE COLUMBIA ENCYCLOPEDIA, Columbia, \$19.50. America's best one-volume encyclopedia, complete with post-war supplement. Over 5,000,000 words, 63,000 articles.

FUNK & WAGNALLS NEW COLLEGE STANDARD DICTIONARY, EM' PHA. TYPE Edition, \$5.50 without thumb index, \$6 with. New, easier to read and use, absolutely up-to-date. More than 145,000 entries, 5,000 new words, 1,000 illustrations, 1,420 pages. Send for free booklet.

DRAMA

FINIAN'S RAINBOW, by H. Y. Harburg and F. Sady, Random House, \$2.50. In this play about Irish folk, some people from the old country and a leprechaun

descend upon a spot in the southern U. S. Their subsequent antics have social import and high humor.

GREEK PLAYS IN MODERN TRANSLATION, edited with an introduction by Dudley Fitts, Dial, \$5. The eleven plays include: *King Oedipus*, by Sophocles, tr. by William Butler Yeats; *Oedipus at Colonus*, by Sophocles, tr. by Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald; *Antigone*, by Sophocles, tr. by Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald; *Electra*, by Sophocles, tr. by Fred-eric Prokosh; *Alceste*, by Euripides, tr. by Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald; *Agamemnon*, by Aeschylus, tr. by Richmond Lattimore; *Eumenides*, by Aeschylus, tr. by George Thomson; *The Trojan Women*, by Euripides, tr. by Richmond Lattimore; *Hippolytus*, by Euripides, tr. by David Greene; *Prometheus Bound*, by Aeschylus, tr. by Edith Hamilton. 596 pages.

REVOLUTION IN AMERICAN DRAMA, by Edmond M. Gagey, Columbia, \$3.75. This book is a cavalcade of American drama from 1912 to the present, showing the forces, within and without, which were to revolutionize the commercial theater. A final chapter briefly surveys the current state of the theater.

EDUCATION

HIGH SPEED MATHEMATICS, by Lester Meyers, Van Nostrand, \$5.95. A complete training in all the time-saving methods of calculation with principles applied to many hundreds of actual problems throughout business and industry.

FICTION

THE DRINKING WELL, by Neil M. Gunn, Stewart, \$3. "Gunn has attempted a universal theme: man's love for the land, and has lent it both timeliness and a high poetry in the telling . . . a vivid experience."—*Philadelphia Inquirer*.

THE MIDDLE OF THE JOURNEY, by Lionel Trilling, Viking, \$3. "An uncommonly interesting novel of ideas—a searching and compassionate account of the liberal's dilemma of conscience in a world of absolutes. All liberals should read it."—*Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.*

THE NEEDLE'S EYE, by Timothy Pember, Reynal & Hitchcock, \$3. A novel of a man's mature awakening. "Written with such unobtrusive grace that it might be Mr. Pember's tenth novel instead of his first."—*Malcolm Cowley*

THE VICTORY, by Vincent McHugh, Random House, \$3.50. Not a "war" story, this novel describes the lives and thoughts of the men aboard a Merchant Marine ship, Hopi Victory, sailing from the West Coast to a South Pacific island.

LABOR

AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISM: Principles and Organization, Strategy and Tactics, by William Z. Foster, International Publishers, \$3.50. Thirty years of trade-union history in the making plus a number of theoretical discussions on industrial unionism, political action, methods of organization, etc.

LABOR FACT BOOK 8, Labor Research Ass'n, International Publishers, \$2.50. Factual survey of general trends, profits, prices and wages, changing status of Negroes, etc.

PHILOSOPHY

BASIC LOGIC, by McCall, Barnes & Noble, \$2. For the layman and student

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY, by Herbert W. Schneider, Columbia, \$4.50. "A fresh, honest study. . . . Our most embracing philosophic account of American thought."—*New York Times*.

HUMAN DESTINY, by Lecomte du Noüy, Longmans, \$3.50. "A book of such fundamental grasp and insight as cannot be expected to appear more than twice in a century."—*Robert A. Millikan*

INQUIRING MIND, by Martin, Barnes & Noble, \$2.75. Basic Philosophic Studies for the layman and beginning student.

READINGS IN PHILOSOPHY, Barnes & Noble, \$1.25, paper bound handbook. Edited by Randall & Buchler, Columbia University.

ST. AUGUSTINE ON FREE WILL, tr. by Carroll Mason Sparrow, Dietz, \$3. A learned dissertation on *Whence Comes Evil*, and all its attendant questions and answers.

THE WORLD'S GREAT THINKERS, edited by Saxe Commins and Robert N. Linscott, Random House, \$2.50 each or \$10 for boxed set. Each of the four books contains the basic writings, in its field, of the greatest philosophers of all time: **MAN AND SPIRIT**, *The Speculative Philosophers*; **MAN AND MAN**, *The Social Philosophers*; **MAN AND THE STATE**, *The Political Philosophers*; **MAN AND THE UNIVERSE**, *The Philosophers of Science*.

PSYCHOLOGY

DEEP ANALYSIS, by Charles Berg, M.D., Norton, \$3.50. A clinical description of a complete Freudian analysis. A revelation of the springs and mechanisms of an individual psychic pattern and emotional structure.

EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS OF LIVING, by O. Spurgeon English, M.D. and G. H. J. Pearson, M.D., Norton, \$5. Avoiding the Neurotic Pattern. "A valuable contribution to the art of better living."—*N. Y. Times*. 7th Printing.

FREUD: ON WAR, SEX AND NEUROSIS, Cloth, 288 pp., \$3. Nine searching essays brought to the American public for the first time in one volume. Not now available in any other edition. *Arts & Science Press*, 61 Dey St., New York 7, N. Y.

GESTALT PSYCHOLOGY, An Introduction to New Concepts in Modern Psychology, by Wolfgang Köhler, Liveright, \$2.49. "Dr. Köhler presents the theoretical and practical aspects of Gestalt Psychology with admirable lucidity and charm."—*New Republic*.

MIND AND BODY: PSYCHOSOMATIC MEDICINE, by Dr. Flanders Dunbar, Random House, \$3.50. A discussion, by the Director of Research in Psychosomatic Medicine at Columbia University, of the interrelationship between physical and mental illness. Includes many full case histories.

PERSONALITY, A Biosocial Approach to Origins and Structure, by Gardner Murphy, Harper, \$7.50. The author, who is

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Chairman of the Dept. of Psychology at C. C. N. Y. helps clarify what little we know about personality and offers his speculations on some of the unlimited possibilities suggested by our knowledge.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF EVERYDAY LIVING, by *Dichter*, Barnes & Noble, \$2.50. Based on surveys made to find out why people buy, eat, live and act as they do. Illustrated.

SPIRITISM, by *G. H. Estabrooks, Ph.D.*, Dutton, \$3. A thorough-going, objective analysis of the whole subject of spiritism by a recognized authority on abnormal psychology. Dr. Estabrooks reveals the latent possibilities of the subconscious mind in relation to mental mediumship.

REPRINTS

MODERN LIBRARY BOOKS, Random House, each volume, \$1.25.

Tolstoy: Anna Karenina

Ivan Turgenev: Fathers and Sons

Van Loon: Ancient Man

Veblen: The Theory of the Leisure Class

H. G. Wells: Tono Bungay

Edith Wharton: The Age of Innocence

Virginia Woolf: To the Lighthouse

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SELF-HELP

BARNES & NOBLE'S EVERYDAY HANDBOOK SERIES. New volumes for home-study and self-instruction in handy paper format.

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HOW TO BUILD A RECORD LIBRARY, *A Guide to Planned Collecting of Recorded Music*, by *Paul Affelder*, Dutton, \$3.50. Over 700 compositions from all major recording companies are listed and described. With foreword by *Sigmund Spaeth*.

THE MARRIAGE READER, *A Guide to Sex Satisfaction and Happiness in Marriage*, Edited by *Samuel G. Kling and Esther B. Kling*, Vanguard, \$3. "What young people need today is factual material based on the best scientific investigation. The section on 'Sex in Marriage' contains the best material I have ever read and by the best authorities. *The Marriage Reader* answers the questions facing the typical couple of today approaching marriage. It should be in the home of every young married couple."—*Dr. Ivan E. McDougale, Professor of Sociology, Goucher College, Baltimore*.

MITS, WITS AND LOGIC, by *Lillian R. Lieber*. Drawings by *Hugh Gray Lieber*. Authors of *The Education of T. C. Mits*, Norton, \$3. This amazing, enlightening and thoroughly gay little book shows what modern logic means to you.

THE MOODS OF TYPE, by *Clayton Whitehall*, Barnes & Noble, \$5. New, unusual approach to type with abstract drawings and type face illustrations.

RECIPES OUT OF BILIBID, Collected by *Col. Halstead C. Fowler, USA*, compiled and tested by *Dorothy Wagner, Stewart*, \$2. "Full of unusual ideas, and the story behind the recipes makes it of special interest."—*Washington Evening Star*.

RESIDENTIAL LIGHTING, by *Myrtle Fabsbender*, Van Nostrand, \$10. A one-volume encyclopedia of all the basic facts on the arrangement and designing of home lighting and home wiring, by Director of Residential Lighting, Lamp Div., Westinghouse Electric Corporation.

TAKE IT AWAY, *Stories, Verse, Songs*, by *Mary Breen and Arthur Lawson, Stewart*, \$2.50. "One of the cleverest and most companionable anthologies ever compiled."—*Boston Herald*.

VISIBLE SPEECH, by *Potter, Kopp and Green*, Van Nostrand, \$4.75. Here is the amazing story of the voice typewriter developed in the Bell Telephone Laboratories which transforms sound into patterns on a screen for ready interpretation.

TRAVEL

AND POINTS SOUTH, by *Oden and Olivia Meeker*, Random House, \$3. A ten-month trip through the Latin Americas, described with gaiety and an eye for the absurdities of life. The authors are freelance writers and have contributed to the *New Yorker Magazine*.

BOOKSTORES

The following bookstores will supply any books advertised in these pages; they will order any books not on hand.

Chicago

KROCH'S, 206 North Michigan Ave.

Los Angeles

BRENTANO'S, 611 West 7th St.

New York

BRENTANO'S, 586 Fifth Ave.

PERIODICALS

FURIOSO—In the Fall issue: a radio sketch by *F. Scott Fitzgerald*, drawings by *Picasso*, both previously unpublished. New verse, articles, reviews, pictures of fish. 50¢ a copy, \$2 a year. RFD, 1, Madison, Conn.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY, Fall Issue, features "Bernard Shaw's Socialism" by *E. J. Hobsbaum*; "Planning for Socialism in Czechoslovakia" by *Pierre George*; "Missis-

issippi Reconstruction" by *Herbert Aptheker*. Available at leading bookstores and from **SCIENCE AND SOCIETY, INC.**, 30 E. 20th St., New York. 40¢ copy; \$1.50 a year.

ORGANIZATIONS

This department provides public-minded organizations with an opportunity to state their purposes, announce meetings and activities and advertise their publications.

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR A DEMOCRATIC GREECE, 152 W. 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y. Disseminates information, through meetings, bulletins and pamphlets, about political and labor conditions in Greece based upon reports from that country.

THE AMERICAN-SCANDINAVIAN REVIEW, an authoritative illustrated magazine presenting the thought, life and achievements of the Scandinavian peoples. Quarterly, \$3 a year. Book list on Scandinavian affairs furnished free on request. *The American-Scandinavian Foundation*, 116 E. 64th St., New York 21, N. Y.

AMERICA'S "THOUGHT POLICE": First comprehensive study of the record of the Un-American Activities Committee since the days of Martin Dies. Foreword by *Henry A. Wallace*. 48 pp. 15c. *Civil Rights Congress*, 205 E. 42nd St., New York 17, N. Y.

What will happen to the Chinese Kuomintang liberals grabbed by Chiang Kai-shek in a series of sudden arrests during the week of October 2nd? Will he execute the men General Marshall pointed out could reform the Chinese government? Get the facts and background in *Spotlight on the Far East*, the only monthly newsletter devoted exclusively to American policy in Asia. Subscription \$1 a year. Write for introductory copy: *Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy*, 111 W. 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y.

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Fed up with the "realism" of getting peace by preparing for atom- and germ-war? It's time you investigated pacifism and non-violence. Write for information to: *Fellowship of Reconciliation*, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

UNITED NATIONS NEWS monthly gives the facts regarding the UN in concise, readable, unbiased form. Contents uncopyrighted. \$3 a year; special undergraduate rate: \$2. *Woodrow Wilson Foundation*, 45 E. 65th St., New York 21, N. Y.

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To you, who each day
Take on anew your tasks
Along the lines that speech will go
Through city streets or far out
Upon some mountainside
Where you have blazed a trail
And kept it clear;
To you there comes from all who use the wires
A tribute for a job well done.

For these are not just still and idle strands
That stretch across a country vast and wide
But bearers
Of life's friendly words
And messages of high import
To people everywhere.

Not spectacular, your usual day,
Not in the headlines
Except they be of fire, or storm, or flood.
Then a grateful nation
Knows the full measure of your skill and worth.
And the fine spirit of service
Which puts truth and purpose
In this honored creed —
“The message must get through.”

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